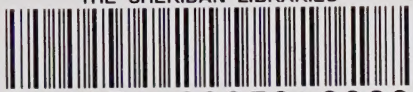


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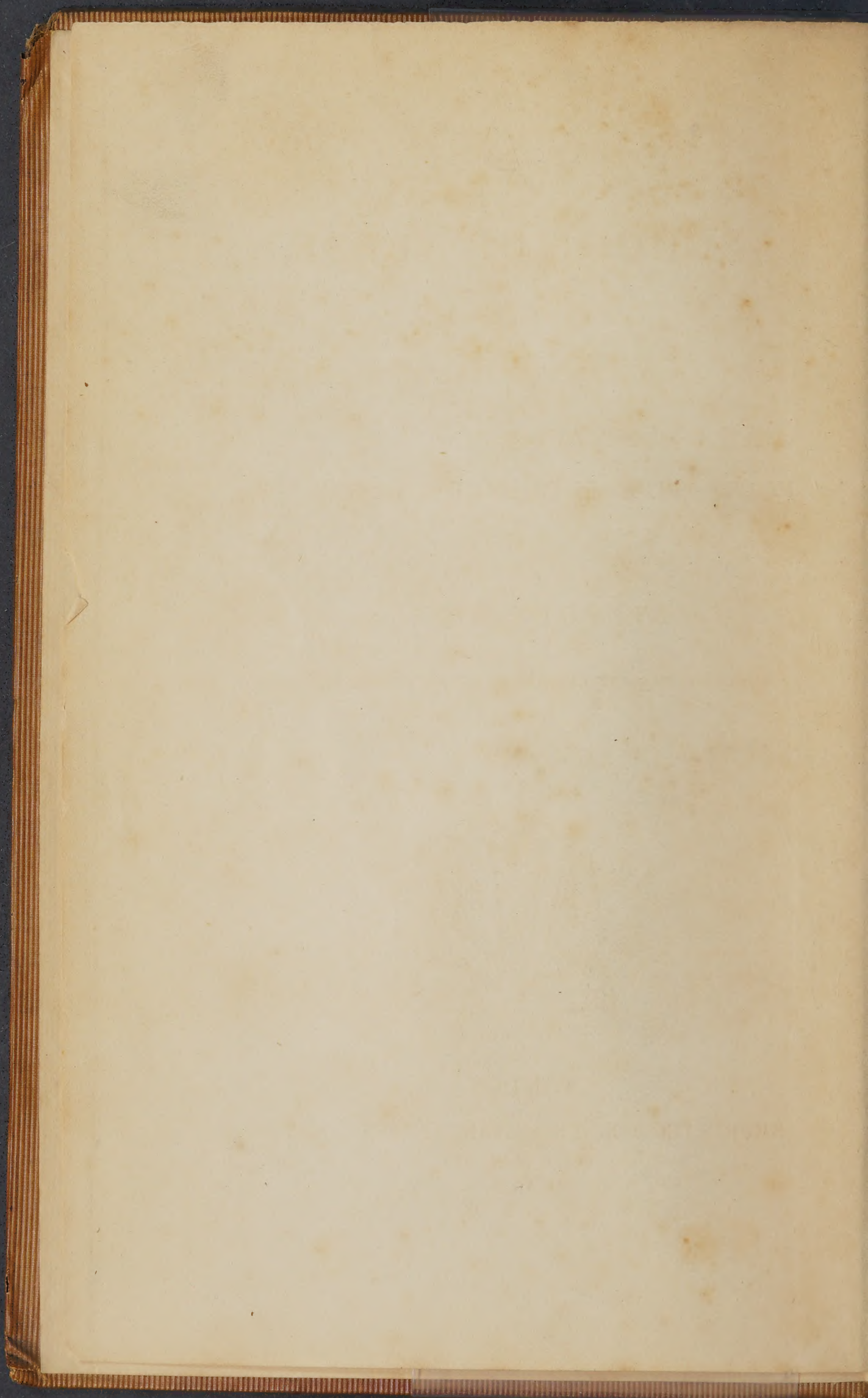




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THE
SCHOOL OF ABUSE,

CONTAINING

A PLEASANT INVECTIVE

AGAINST

POETS, PIPERS, PLAYERS, JESTERS, &c.

BY

STEPHEN GOSSON.

WITH AN INTRODUCTION REGARDING THE AUTHOR AND HIS WORKS.

[Edited by J. P. Collier.]



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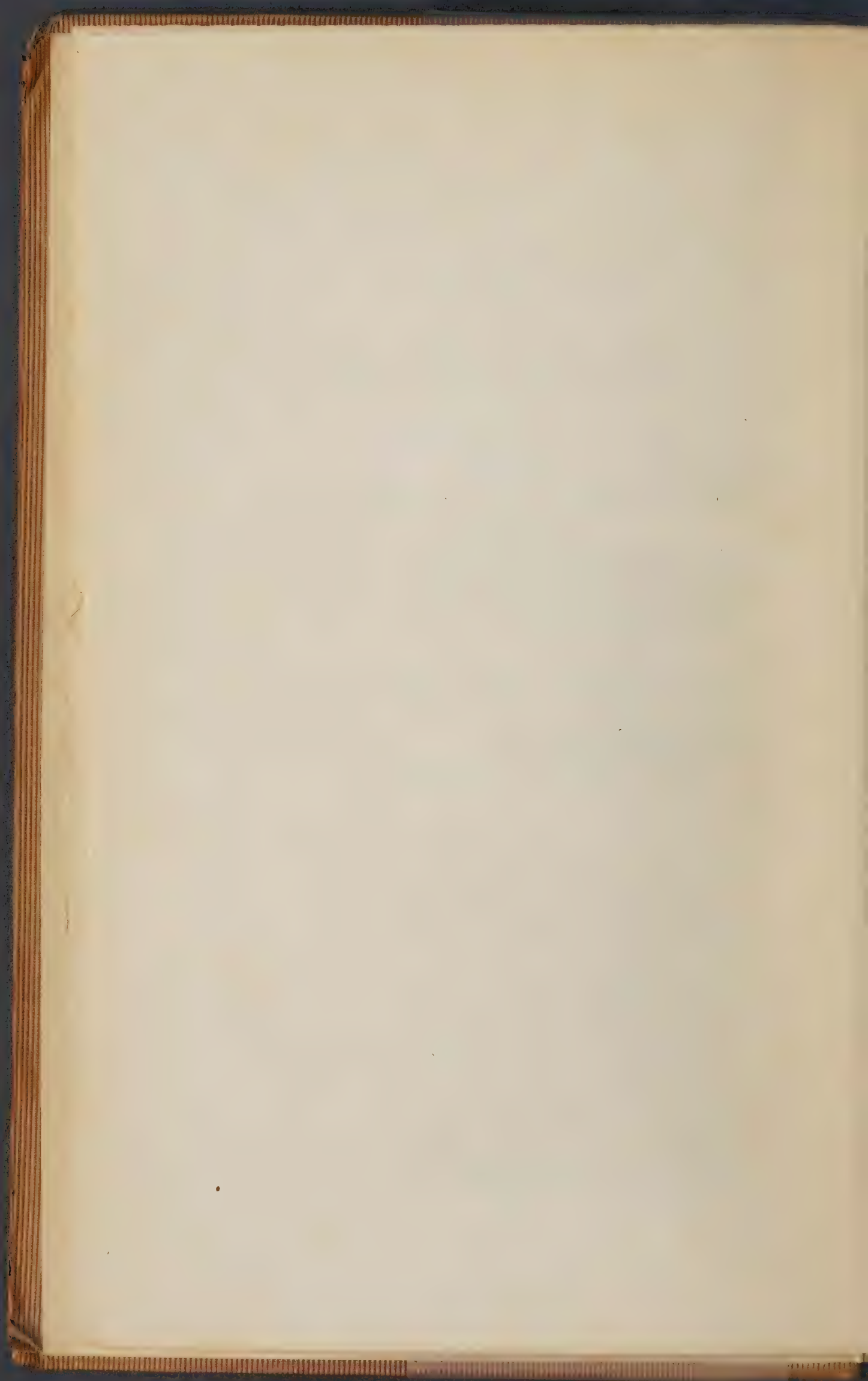
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INTRODUCTION.

STEPHEN GOSSON, the author of the tract reprinted on the following pages, was not the earliest literary enemy of theatrical performances in this country. That distinction belongs to John Northbrooke, whose "Treatise wherein Dicing, Dauncing, Vaine Playes or Enterluds &c. are reproved," was licensed for the press in 1577: it was printed by H. Bynneman, without date, but no doubt prior to 1579, when Gosson's "Schoole of Abuse, conteining a plesaunt Invective against Poets, Pipers, Plaiers, Jesters" &c. made its appearance. Our author, therefore, is only entitled to the second place in the attack upon the stage, although he says nothing about any predecessor. Northbrooke's work well merits at least equal attention; and on an early occasion we shall offer a careful re-impression of it to the members of the Shakespeare Society. We were led, in the first instance, to Gosson's tract, by his connection with Edward Alleyn, late in life, when Gosson was vicar of the parish in which that great actor and most benevolent man was born.

We are told by Anthony Wood, (*Athenæ Oxon.* I. 675, edit. Bliss,) that Stephen Gosson was a Kentish

man by birth, and that he was admitted a scholar of Christ Church College, Oxford, on April 4th, 1572, "aged 16, or thereabouts." Gosson was, in fact, (as appears by the registration of his death, which will be introduced hereafter,) in his 18th year; and the Oxford antiquary adds, that "he took one degree in arts, four years after his admission, left the university without completing that degree by determination, and went to the great city, where he was noted for his admirable penning of pastorals." Of his pastorals we know nothing; and certainly whatever Gosson has left behind him savours more of a satirical than of a rustic character. He became tutor in a family, and soon afterwards wrote at least three plays, some of which were acted: on p. 30 of the present republication he mentions "Catalines Conspiracies, usually brought in at the Theatre," as "a pig of his own sow;" and he elsewhere admits himself to have been the author of a comedy called "Captain Mario," and of a moral play, which had for title "Praise at Parting." He asserts that he had been "drawn like a novice to these abuses," and he entirely abandoned them before he had completed his 25th year. The subsequent pages are full of self-reproaches for the offences he had in this respect committed.

"The School of Abuse" came out in 1579; and possibly Gosson had been led to see the error of his way by Northbrooke's "Treatise," which must then have been in the hands of the puritanical readers of such productions about a year. Gosson's tract was dedicated to "Master Philip Sidney Esquier;" and we have it on

no less evidence than that of Spenser (in one of his letters to Gabriel Harvey, dated in 1580,) that Gosson "was for his labour scorned ; if, at least, it be in the goodness of that nature to scorn." Gosson was either not so scorned as to make him hesitate in the same year in dedicating to Sidney his "Ephemerides of Phialo," or the reproof he received on the occasion was not given until both those pieces had appeared.

In his "Ephemerides of Phialo" Gosson informs us that the players, having in vain applied to some members of the universities to answer his "School of Abuse," had at length found "one in London to write certain honest excuses, for so they term it, to their dishonest abuses, which I revealed." This sentence alludes to Thomas Lodge, the dramatist, who very soon afterwards published his reply to Stephen Gosson, only two copies of which are supposed to exist, both of them wanting the title-page : this mutilation was occasioned by the interference of some of the public authorities to suppress the work, and by the unwillingness of those who happened, by some chance, to obtain it to have it found in their possession in a perfect state. It consists of three divisions—the Defence of Poetry, the Defence of Music, and the Defence of Plays : in the last, Lodge speaks of Gosson not only as a writer, but as an actor of plays—a circumstance which Gosson kept in the back-ground.

No sooner had Lodge's "honest excuses" made their appearance, than Gosson set about his "Plays confuted in Five Actions," which he dedicated to Sir F. Walsingham ; but, as it is without date, we can only presume that it was not delayed beyond the autumn of

1581, or the spring of 1582. Hence we learn that a piece called "the Play of Plays," intended as a practical contradiction to Gosson and to the other enemies of dramatic representations, had been acted on one of the public stages of London. A full description of the performance, and of the course and conduct of the plot, may be seen in Collier's "History of English Dramatic Poetry and the Stage," II. 275. In his "Plays confuted in Five Actions," Gosson terms Lodge "a vagrant person, visited by the heavy hand of God," which did not come very well from Gosson, considering that he had been "a vagrant person" himself.

Lodge did not think it necessary to pursue the contest in any separate publication, and possibly none such would have obtained a licence; but when he printed his "Alarum against Usurers" in 1584, he introduced the subject incidentally, not venturing to give any hint on the title-page that it was noticed in the course of the tract. It is remarkable that the "Alarum against Usurers" is dedicated to Sidney, who had "scorned" Gosson five years before; and the reply to Gosson is contained in a preliminary address "to the Gentlemen of the Inns of Court." Lodge there states, that Gosson had procured only an imperfect copy of his "Defence of Plays;" and as a proof that it was without the title-page, we may notice that Gosson attributes it to William, instead of Thomas Lodge. In how much better and more charitable a spirit Lodge wrote than his antagonist, may be judged from the subsequent passage, addressed to Gosson, at the conclusion of what Lodge advances in favour of theatrical

representations:—"Having slandered me without cause, I will no otherwise revenge it, but by this means; that now in public I confess thou hast a good pen, and if thou keep thy method in discourse, and leave thy slandering without cause, there is no doubt but thou shalt be commended for thy copy, and praised for thy style."

In the mean time, the year before Lodge's "Alarum against Usurers" issued from the press, Philip Stubbes had published his "Anatomy of Abuses," which includes a division headed "Of Stage-plays and Interludes, with their wickedness." It is singular, therefore, that Lodge did not go a little out of his way to advert to it; especially as the work became extremely notorious, and went through two editions in 1583, the second impression bearing date the 16th August in that year. A beautiful reprint of the work was made at Edinburgh in 1836, but unluckily it was taken from the fifth edition of 1585, which omits some curious and characteristic passages contained in the earliest impression. Stubbes was followed by Whetstone in his "Touchstone for the Time," appended to his "Mirror for Magistrates of Cities," 1584; but he confined his brief censure to "the use of stage-plays on the Sabbath-day, and the abuse of them at all times," he himself having aspired to the rank of a dramatic poet in 1578. In that year came out his "History of Promos and Cassandra," the story of which is the same as that of "Measure for Measure."

Gosson had found a powerful anonymous supporter of his opinions in the author of "the Second and

Third Blast of Retreat from Plays and Theatres," 1580. This person, like Gosson, had also been an actor, if not an author of pieces for the stage; but one of the most remarkable of the early opponents to amusements of the kind was William Rankins, although on another account. He published his "Mirror of Monsters" in 1587, filled with the usual abuse of all persons and matters connected with theatres, and yet a very few years afterwards we find him regularly in Henslowe's pay, writing comedies and tragedies for the Earl of Nottingham's servants at the Rose Theatre. In this respect he was the converse of Stephen Gosson, and of his anonymous coadjutor, the author of "the Second and Third Blast of Retreat from Plays and Theatres."

It is not necessary to carry this sketch farther than to mention, that the Puritans persevered in their resistance to stage-plays with great pertinacity, but with so little effect, that the number of theatres and of visitors to them increased rapidly, until near the end of the reign of Elizabeth, when Dr. Rainolds' "Overthrow of Stage-playes" came out; about which date (1599) some attempts were made to limit the number of theatres in and near London, and to restrain dramatic performances. Thomas Heywood's "Apology for Actors," the most elaborate defence of the profession, did not make its appearance until 1612: it may have been called for, by the publication, in 1610, of a coarse and violent attack on the stage, in the form of a play, under the title of "Histriomastix," which title Prynne adopted twenty-three years afterwards. The

“Refutation of the Apology for Actors,” by J. G., was delayed until 1615. Thus the contest regarding the stage and its supporters may be said to have remained undecided until the Puritans obtained greater power, and until Prynne produced his notorious volume in 1633, the composition of which occupied seven years, while he kept adding to his authorities during the four years it was in the press.

Gosson’s “School of Abuse” did not come to a second edition until 1587; but his “Ephemerides of Phialo” had been printed for the second time in 1586. At what time he was ordained does not appear; but he subsequently entered the church, and he was probably in orders when, in 1595, he wrote “Pleasant Quippes for Upstart Newfangled Gentlewomen,” which was again printed in 1596. It is not to be wondered that it was popular, for it was composed in a smart satirical vein, and it had besides the advantage of an attractive title: it is also called, in the first impression, “A Glasse to view the Pride of vain-glorious Women, containing a pleasant Invective against the fantastical forreigne toyes, daylie used in Women’s Apparell;” and the authorship of Gosson is ascertained by the existence of a presentation copy, of the second edition of 1596, with the words *Authore Stephen Gosson*, in his own hand-writing, on the first leaf. As it is a great literary curiosity, and as this is the first time it has been mentioned as the production of so distinguished an author, we may be excused for adding some quotations from it. This “pleasant invective” (terms which Gosson applied to his “Schoole of

Abuse" seventeen years before) commences abruptly as follows:—

These fashions fonde of countrey strange,
Which English heads so much delight,
Through towne and cuntry which do range,
And are imbrac'd of every wight,
So much I wonder still to see,
That nought so much amazeth me.

If they by painters cunning skill
Were prickt on walles to make them gaye;
If glasse in windowes they did fill,
Or trim'd-up puppets, children's play,
I would repute them antickes olde:
They should for me go uncontrold.

If they on stage in stately sort,
Might jet to please the idle's eie;
If Maie-game mates for summer sport
By them in daunce disguisde might be;
They would not then deserve such blame,
Nor worke the wearers half the shame.

But when as men of lore and wit,
And guiders of the weaker kinde,
Doe judge them for their mate so fit,
That nothing more can please their mind,
I know not what to say to this,
But sure I know it is amisse.

And when sage parents breed in childe
The greedy lust of hellish toyes,
Whereby in manners they growe wilde,
And lose the blisse of lasting joyes,
I pittie much to see the case,
That we thus faile of better grace.

And when proud princoks, rascall's bratte,
In fashions will be prince's mate;
And every Gill that keeps a catte
In rayment will be like a state,
If any cause be to complaine,
In such excesse who can refraine?

This is much like Gosson's objurgatory prose style turned into verse; and he afterwards proceeds to particularize some of the absurdities of the dress of the latter end of the reign of Elizabeth.

These Holland smockes, so white as snowe,
And gorgets brave, with drawn-work wrought;
A tempting ware they are, you know,
Wherewith (as nets) vaine youths are caught; &c.

These flaming heads with staring haire,
These wyers turnde like hornes of ram;
These painted faces which they weare,
Can any tell from whence they cam?
Don Sathan, lord of fayned lyes,
All these new fangles did devise.

These glittering cawles of golden plate,
Wherewith their heads are richly dect,
Make them to seeme an Angels mate
In judgment of the simple sect.
To peacockes I compare them right,
That glorieth in their feathers bright.

These perriwigges, ruffles, armed with pinnes,
These spangles, chaines, and laces all,
These naked paps, the Devils ginnes,
To worke vaine gazers painfull thrall:
He fowler is, they are his nets,
Wherewith of fooles great store he gets.

This starch, and these rebating props,
 As though ruffles were some rotten house ;
 All this new pelfe now sold in shops,
 In value true not worth a louse,
 They are his dogs, he hunter sharp,
 By them a thousand doth he warpe.
 This cloth of price, all cut in ragges,
 These monstrous bones that compasse armes ;
 These buttons, pinches, fringes, jaggies,
 With them he weaveth wofull harmes.
 He fisher is, they are his baytes,
 Wherewith to hel he draweth heaps.

Masks, as they were worn by ladies of the time,
 next fall under Gosson's severe censure.

Were maskes for veiles, to hide and holde,
 As Christians did, and Turkes do use,
 To hide the face from wantons bolde,
 Small cause were then at them to muse ;
 But barring only wind and sun,
 Of verie pride they were begun.

But on each wight now are they seene,
 The tallow-pale, the browning-bay,
 The swarthy-blacke, the grassie-greene,
 The pudding-red, the dapple-graie ;
 So might we judge them toyes aright
 To keepe sweete beautie still in plight.

Hence we learn that masks were of a variety of
 colours. Of feather fans Gosson remarks :—

Were fannes and flappes of feathers fond
 To flit away the flisking flies,
 As tail of mare that hangs on ground,
 When heat of summer doth arise,
 The wit of women we might praise,
 For finding out so great an ease.

But seeing they are stil in hand,
 In house, in field, in church, in street,
 In summer, winter, water, land,
 In colde, in heate, in drie, in weet,
 I judge they are for wives such tooles,
 As bables are in playes for fooles.

The last line affords one out of many illustrations of the custom prevalent in the time of Shakespeare, as well as before and afterwards, for the fools on the stage to be furnished with what was called a bawble, a sort of doll at the top of a short stick, which doll itself often represented a fool, surmounted by a fool's cap. Just afterwards Gosson adds,

There privie coates, by art made strong
 With bones, with paste, with such like ware,
 Whereby their backe and sides grow long,
 And now they harness gallants are ;
 Were they for use against the foe,
 Our dames for Amazones might goe. &c.

These hoopes, that hippes and haunches hide,
 And heave aloft the gay hoyst traine,
 As they are now in use for pride,
 So did they first beginne of paine, &c.

Our quotations are from the edition of 1596, with Gosson's autograph, which in some respects is more correct than that of 1595: for instance, in the fourth line of the preceding quotation, the first edition reads *harvest* for "harnest," which last is unquestionably right. In the ensuing stanza, against aprons, the earlier copy reads *fringed* for *fring*, and so far has the advantage over the later edition.

These apornes white of finest thrid,
 So choicelie tide, so dearlie bought,
 So finely fringed, so nicelie spred,
 So quaintlie cut, so richlie wrought,
 Were they in worke to save their cotes,
 They need not cost so many grotes, &c.

These worsted stockes of bravest die,
 And silken garters fring'd with gold;
 These corked shooes to beare them hie,
 Make them to trip it on the molde:
 They mince it with a pace so strange,
 Like untam'd heifers when they range.

The following early notice of the general employment of coaches would have served Mr. J. H. Markland for a useful quotation, in his very learned and amusing essay upon that subject in the *Archæologia*:—

To carrie all this pelfe and trash,
 Because their bodies are unfit,
 Our wantons now in coaches dash,
 From house to house, from street to street.
 Were they of state, or were they lame,
 To ride in coach they need not shame;

But being base, and sound in health,
 They teach for what are coaches make.
 Some think, perhaps, to shew their wealth:
 Nay, nay, in them they penaunce take;
 As poorer truls must ride in cartes,
 So coaches are for prouder hearts.

Gosson then addresses the male sex, and seriously exhorts men not to allow women to be so foolish and extravagant. Among other things he says —

Of verie love you them array
 In silver, gold, and jewels brave :
 For silke and velvet still you pay ;
 So they be trimme no cost you save.
 But think you such as joy in these
 Will covet none but you to please ?

Near the end, he apostrophizes himself, and seems to indicate that he was then in holy orders :—

Thou Poet rude, if thou be scorn'd,
 Disdaine it not ; for preachers grave
 Are still dispis'd by faces hornde,
 When they for better manners crave.
 That hap which fals on men divine,
 If thou it feele, doe not repine, &c.
 Let fearfull Poets pardon crave,
 That seeke for praise at everie lips ;
 Do thou not favor, nor yet rave ;
 The golden meane is free from trips.
 This lesson old was taught in schooles —
 It's praise to be dispraisde of fooles.

With this stanza the poem, consisting of forty-nine stanzas, concludes. We make no apology for the length of our extracts, which are highly curious and characteristic ; and as we have only been able to quote a comparatively small portion of the whole, we are very glad to see that it is the intention of the Percy Society to re-print it entire. Hitherto, Gosson's only known productions in verse were lines prefixed to Florio's *First Fruits*, 1578, to Nicholas's *History of the West Indies*, 1578, and to Kerton's *Mirror of Man's Life*, 1580. The "Quippes for Upstart Newfangled Gentlewomen" do him great credit as a humorous and satirical versifier. Only two copies of the work are known, and

they are of different editions, dated respectively in 1595 and 1596, 4to.

We have supposed Gosson in the church in 1595, and he certainly was so in 1598, when he published a sermon called "The Trumpet of War," calling himself on the title-page, "Parson of Great Wigborow, in Essex." From Newcourt's *Repertorium Ecclesiasticum*, it appears that he was instituted to the rectory of St. Botolph, Bishopgate, on the 8th of April, 1600; and, from this date, until 1616, we hear no more of him: in that year, (as has been shown in the "Memoirs of Edward Alleyn," p. 133,) he addressed a letter to the Founder of Dulwich College. How Gosson obtained that piece of preferment cannot perhaps be ascertained; but he kept it until his death, which took place in 1623: the entry in the parish register runs thus:—

"Mister Stephen Gosson, rector of this parish for twenty odde year past; who departed this mortal life about five of the clocke on Friday in the afternoone, being the 13th of the monthe, and buried in the night, 17 Feb: 1623, aged 69."

The papers preserved at Dulwich College in Gosson's hand-writing indicate that he was infirm six or seven years before his decease.

THE
Shoole of Abuse,

Conteining a plesaunt inuective
against Poets, Pipers, Plaiers,
Iesters, and such like Caterpillers
of a Commonwelth : Setting vp
the Flagge of Defiaunce to their
mischieuous exercise, and over-
throwing their Bulwarkes, by Pro-
phane Writers, Naturall reason,
and common expe-
rience :

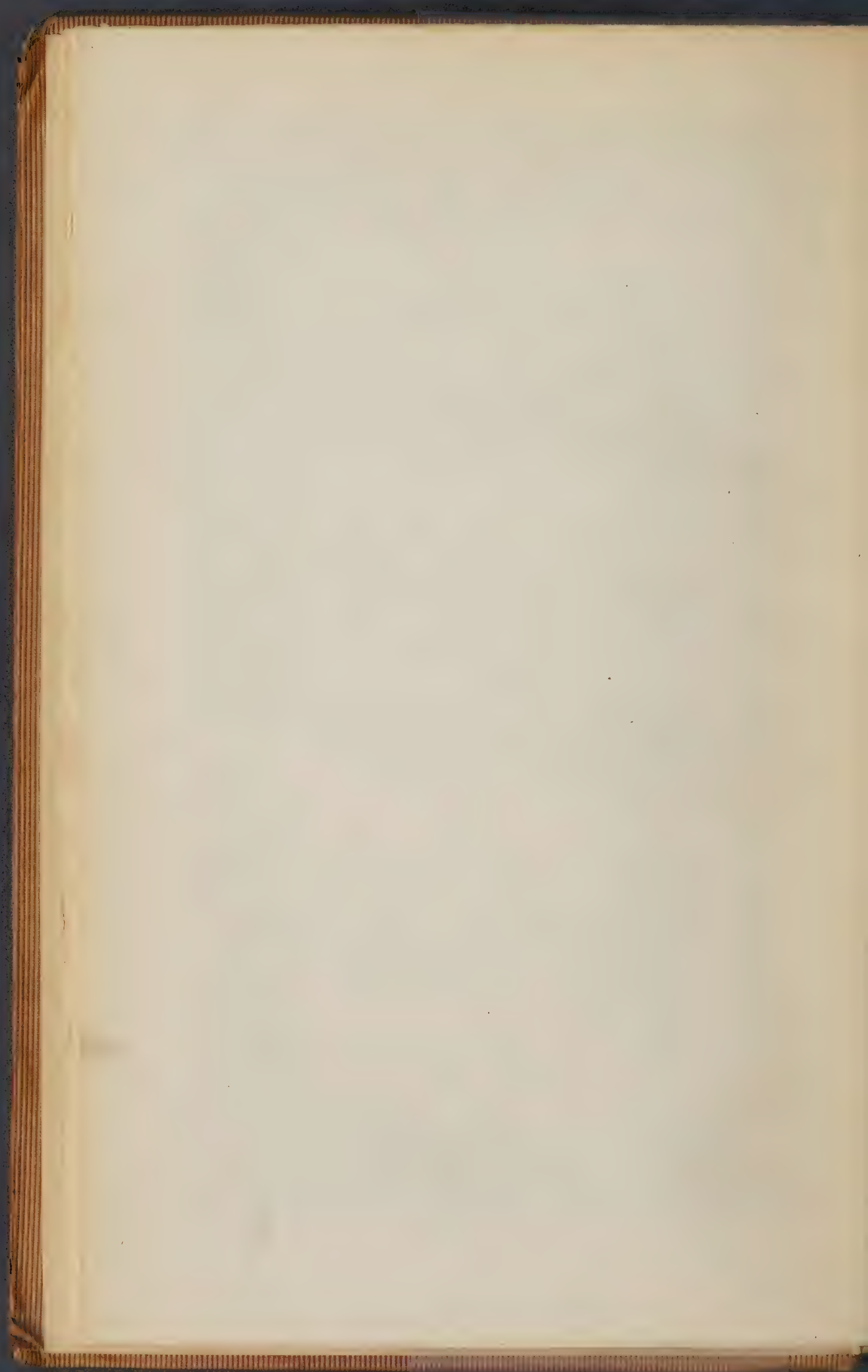
A discourse as pleasaunt for Gen-
tlemen that fauour learning, as
profitable for all that wyl
follow vertue.

By Stephan Gosson. Stud. Oxon.

Tuscul. I.

*Mandere literis cogitationes, nec eas disponere,
nec illustrare, nec delectatione aliqua allicere
Lectorem, hominis est intemperanter abutentis,
& otio, & literis.*

*Printed at London, by Thomas
Woodcocke. 1579.*



To the right noble Gentleman, Master Philip
Sidney, Esquier, Stephan Gosson wisheth
health of body, wealth of minde,
rewarde of vertue, aduancement of honor and good
successe in godly affayres.

Caligula, lying in Fraunce with a great armye of fighting men, brought all his force on a sudden to the sea side, as though he intended to cutte over, and invade Englande: when he came to the shore, his souldiers were presently set in aray, himselfe, shipped in a small barke, weyed ancors, and lanced out. He had not played long in the sea, wafting too and fro at his pleasure, but he returned agayne, stroke sayle, gave allarme to his souldiers in token of battaile, and charged every man to gather cockles. I knowe not (right worshipful) whether my selfe be as frantike as Caligula in my proceedings, because that after I have set out the flag of defiance to some abuses, I may seeme wel ynough to strike up the drum, and bring al my power to a vayne skirmish. The title of my booke doth promise much: the volume, you see, is very little; and sithence I cannot beare out my folly by authority, like an emperoure, I will crave pardon for my phrenzye by submission, as your woorshippes too commaunde. The Schoole which I builde is narrowe, and at the first blushe appeareth but a doggehole; yet small cloudes cary water; slender threedes sowe sure stitches; little heares have their shadowe; blunt stones whette knives; from harde rockes flow soft springes; the whole world is drawen in a mappe; Homers Iliades in a nutte shell; a kinges picture in a pennye: little chestes maye hold greate

treasure ; a few cyphers contayne the substance of a riche merchant ; the shortest pamphlette may shrowde matter ; the hardest head may geve lighte, and the harshest penne may sette downe somewhat woorth the reading.

He that hath ben shooke with fierce ague giveth good counsel to his friends when he is wel. When Ovid had roaved long on the seas of wantonnesse, he became a good pilot to all that followed, and printed a carde of every daunger ; and I perswade my selfe, that seeing the abuses which I reveale, trying them thorowly to my hurt, and bearing the stench of them yet in my owne nose, I may best make the frame, found the schoole, and reade the first lecture of all my selfe, to warne every man to avoyde the perill. Wherein I am contrary to Simonides, for he was ever slowe to utter and swifte to conceale, being more sorrowefull that he had spoken, then that he had held his peace. But I accuse my selfe of discourtesie to my friendes in keeping these abuses so long secrete, and now thinke my duetie discharged in laying them open.

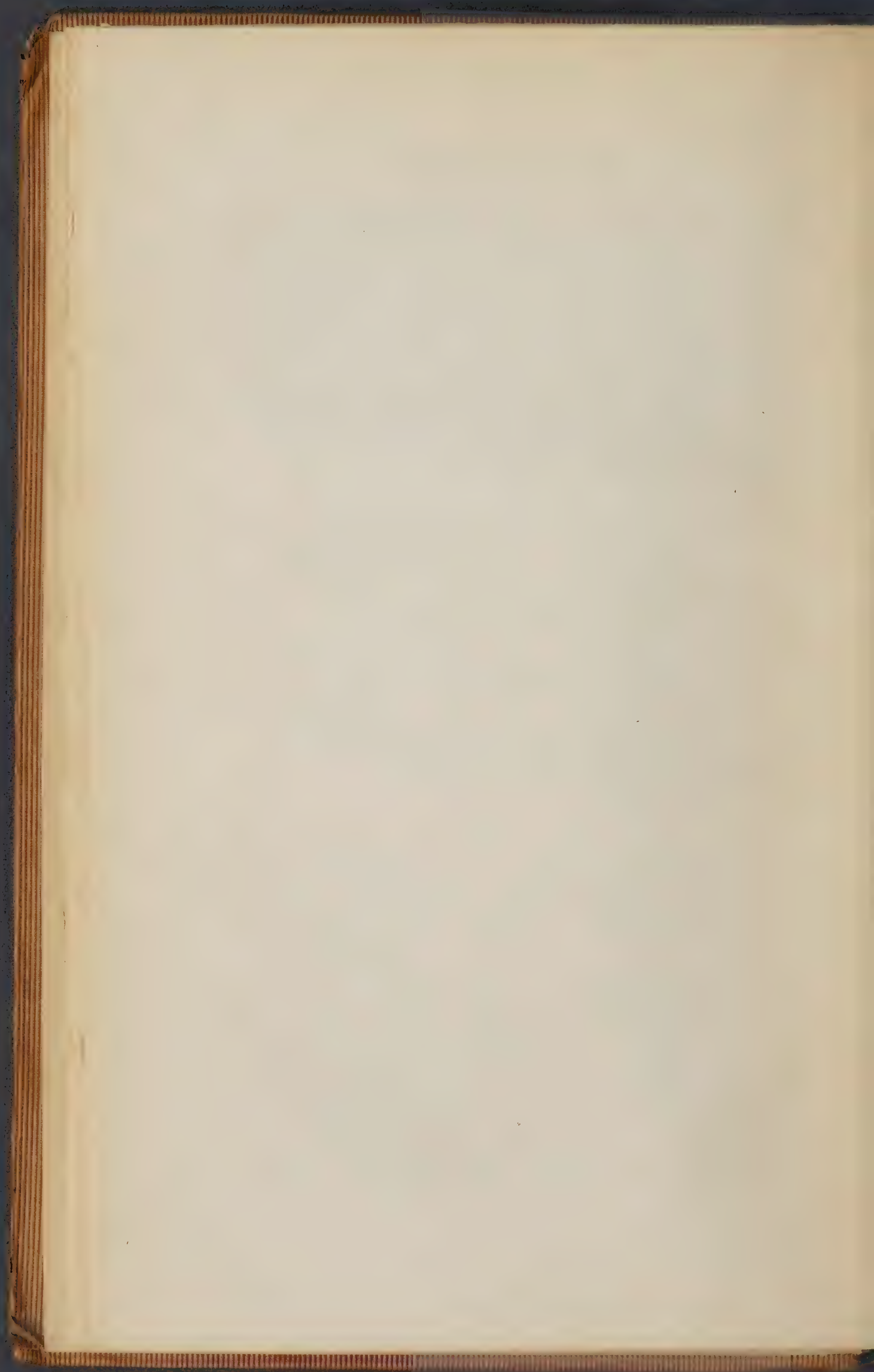
A good physition, when the disease cannot be cured within, thrusteth the corruption out in the face, and delivereth his patient to the chirurgion : though my skill in physike bee small, I have some experience in these maladies, which I thrust out with my penne to every mans view, yeelding the ranke fleshe to the chirurgions knife, and so ridde my handes of the cure, for it passeth my cunning to heale them privily.

If your worshippe vouchsafe to enter the Schoole doore, and walke an hower or twaine within for your pleasure, you shall see what I teache, which present my Schoole, my cunning, and my selfe to your worthy patronage ; beseeching you, though I bidd you to dinner, not to loke for a feast fit for the curious taste of a perfect courtier, but to imitate Philip of Macedon, who, beeing invited to a farmers house when hee came from hunting, brought a greater trayne then

the poore man looked for. When they were sette the good Philip, perceiving his hoste sorrowful for want of meate to satisfie so many, exhorted his friends to keepe their stomackes for the second course ; whereuppon every man fedde modestly on that which stode before him, and lefte meate inough at the taking upp of the table. And I trust if your worshippe feede sparingly on this (to comforte your poore hoste) in hope of a better course hereafter, though the dishes bee fewe that I set before you, they shall for this time suffice your selfe and a great many moe.

Your worships to commaund,

STEPHAN GOSSON.



TO THE READER.

Gentlemen and others, you may wel thinke that I sell you my corne and eate chaffe, barter my wine and drink water, sith I take upon me to deterre you from Playes, when mine owne woorkes are dayly to be seene upon stages, as sufficient witnesses of mine owne folly, and severe judges against my selfe. But if you sawe howe many teares of sorrowe my eyes shed when I beholde them, or how many drops of blood my heart sweates when I remember them, you would not so much blame me for missespending my time when I knew not what I did, as commend me at the laste for recovering my steppes with graver counsell. After wittes are ever best: burnt children dread the fier. I have seene that which you beholde, and I shun that which you frequent; and that I might the easier pull your mindes from such studyes, drawe your feete from such places, I have sent you a Schoole of those abuses which I have gathered by observation.

Theodorus, the Atheist, complayned that his schollers were woont, how plaine soever hee spake, to misconster him, how righte soever hee wrote, to wrest him; and I looke for some like auditors in my Schoole, as of rancour will hit me, howsoever I warde, or of stomake assaile mee, how soever I bee garded; making black of white, chalke of cheese, the full moone of a messe of cruddes. These are such as, with curst curres, barke at every man but their owne friendes: these snatch uppe bones in open streetes, and bite them with madnesse in secret corners: these, with sharp windes, pearse subtiler in narrowe lanes then

large fields ; and sith there is neither authoritie in me to bridle their touniges, nor reason in them to rule their owne talke, I am contented to suffer their taunts, requesting you, which are gentlemen, of curtesie to beare with me, and because you are learned amende the faultes freendly which escape the presse : the ignoraunt, I knowe, will swallow them downe and digest them with ease. Farewel.

Yours
STEPHAN GOSSON.

THE SCHOOLE OF ABUSE.

The Syracusans used such varietie of dishes in their banquets, that when they were set, and their bordes furnished, they were many times in doubt which they should touch first, or taste last. And in my opinion the worlde geveth every writer so large a felde to walke in, that before he set penne to the booke, he shall find him selfe feasted at Syracusa, uncertayne where to begin, or when to end : this caused Pindarus to question with his Muse, whether he were better with his art to discifer the life of Nimpe Melia, or Cadmus encounter with the dragon, or the warres of Hercules at the walles of Thebes, or Bacchus cuppes, or Venus jugling? He saw so many turnings layde open to his feete, that hee knew not which way to bende his pace.

Therefore, as I cannot but commend his wisdom which in banquetting feedes most uppon that that doth nourishe best, so must I dispraise his methode in writing which, following the course of amorous poets, dwelleth longest on those points that profit least, and like a wanton whelpe leaveth the game to runne riot. The scarabe flies over many a sweet flower, and lightes in a cowsherd. It is the custome of the flie to leave the sound places of the horse, and sucke at the botch : the nature of colloquintida to draw the worst humors to it selfe : the manner of swine to forsake the fayre fields and wallowe in the myre ; and the whole practise of poets, either with fables to shewe their abuses, or with playne tearmes to unfolde their mischeefe,

discover their shame, discredite themselves, and disperse their poison through the world. Virgil sweats in describing his gnatte; Ovid bestirreth him to paint out his flea: the one shewes his art in the lust of Dido; the other his cunning in the incest of Myrrha, and that trumpet of bawdrie, the Craft of Love.

I must confesse that poets are the whetstones of wit, notwithstanding that wit is dearely bought: where honie and gall are mixt, it will be hard to sever the one from the other. The deceitfull phisition geveth sweete syrroppes to make his poyson goe downe the smoother: the jugler casteth a myst to work the closer: the Syrens songue is the saylers wracke; the fowlers whistle the birdes death; the wholesome baite the fishes bane. The Harpies have virgin faces, and vultures talents: Hyena speakes like a friend, and devours like a foe: the calmest seas hide dangerous rockes: the wolfe jets in weathers felles. Manie good sentences are spoken by Davus to shadowe his knaverie, and written by poets as ornamentes to beautifie their woorkes, and sette their trumperie to sale without suspect.

But if you looke well to Epæus horse, you shall finde in his bowels the destruction of Troy: open the sepulchre of Semyramis, whose title promiseth suche wealth to the kynges of Persia, you shall see nothing but dead bones: rip up the golden ball that Nero consecrated to Jupiter Capitollinus, you shall it stuffed with the shavings of his bearde: pul off the visard that poets maske in, you shall disclose their reproch, bewray their vanitie, loth their wantonnesse, lament their folly, and perceive their sharpe sayinges to be placed as pearles in dung-hils, fresh pictures on rotten walles, chaste matrons apparel on common curtesans. These are the cuppes of Circes, that turne reasonable creatures into brute beastes; the balles of Hippomenes, that hinder the course of Atalanta, and the blocks of the Devil, that are cast in our wayes to cut of the race of toward wittes. No marveyle though Plato shut them out of

his schoole, and banished them quite from his common wealth, as effeminate writers, unprofitable members, and utter enimies to vertue.

The Romans were very desirous to imitate the Greekes, and yet very loth to receive their poets ; insomuch that Cato layeth it in the dishe of Marcus, the noble, as a foule reproche, that in the time of his Consulshippe he brought Ennius, the poet, into his province. Tully accustomed to read them with great diligence in his youth, but when he waxed graver in studie, elder in yeers, ryper in judgement, hee accompted them the fathers of lyes, pipes of vanitie, and Schooles of

Tus. 1. 2.

Abuse. Maximus Tyrius taketh uppon him to defend the discipline of these doctors under the name of Homer, wresting the rashness of Ajax to valour, the cowardice of Ulisses to policie, the dotage of Nestor to

λογος 15.

grave counsell, and the battaile of Troy to the woonderfull conflict of the foure elementes ; where Juno, which is counted the ayre, settes in her foote to take up the strife, and steps boldly betwixt them to part the fray. It is a pageant woorth the sight to beholde how he labors with mountaines to bring forth mice ; much like to some of those Players, that come to the scaffold with drumme and trumpet to profer skirmishe, and when they have sounded Allarme, off goe the peeces to encounter a shadow, or conquere a paper monster. You will smile, I am sure, if you reade it, to see how this morall philosopher toyles to draw the lions skinne upon Æsops asse, Hercules shoes on a childe's feet ; amplifying that which, the more it is stirred, the more it stinkes, the lesser it is talked of the better it is liked ; and as waiwarde children, the more they bee flattered the woorse they are, or as curste sores with often touching waxe angry, and run the longer without healing. Hee attributeth the beginning of vertue to Minerva, of friendshippe to Venus, and the roote of all handy crafts to Vulcan ; but if he had broke his arme aswel as his legge, when he fell out of heaven into Lemnos, either Apollo must

have plaid the bone setter, or every occupation beene layde a water.

Plato, when he saw the doctrine of these teachers neither for profit necessary, nor to bee wished for pleasure, gave them all Drummes entertainment, not suffering them once to shew their faces in a reformed common wealth. And the same Tyrius, that layes such a foundation for poets in the name of Homer, overthrowes his whole building in the person of Mithecus, which was an excellent cooke among the Greekes, and asmuche honoured for his confections, as Phidias for his carving. But when he came to Sparta, thinking there for his cunning to be accompted a god, the good lawes of Licurgus, and custome of the countrey were too hot for his diet. The Governors banished him and his art, and al the inhabitants, folowing the steppes of their predecessors, used not with dainties to provoke appetite, but with labour and travell to whette their stomackes to their meate. I may well liken Homer to Mithecus, and poets to cookes : the pleasures of the one winnes the body from labour, and conquereth the sense : the allurement of the other drawes the minde from vertue, and confoundeth wit. As in every perfect common wealth there ought to be good laws established, right maintained, wrong repressed, vertue rewarded, vice punished, and all manner of abuses thoroughly purged, so ought there such schooles for the furtherance of the same to be advaunced, that young men may be taught that in greene yeeres, that becomes them to practise in gray hayres.

Anacharsis being demaunded of a Greeke, whether they had not instrumentes of musicke or schooles of poetrie in Scythia? aunswared, yes, and that without vice ; as though it were eyther impossible, or incredible that no abuse should be learned where such lessons are taught, and such schooles maintained.

Salust in describing the nurture of Sempronia commendeth her witte, in that shee coulde frame her selfe to all companies,

to talke discretly with wyse men, and vaynely with wantons, takyng a quip ere it came to grounde, and returning it backe without a faulte. She was taught (saith he) both Greek and Latine; she could versifie, sing and daunce better then became an honest woman. Sappho was skilful in poetrie and sung wel, but she was whorish. I set not this downe to condemne the giftes of versifying, daunsing or singing in women, so they bee used with meane and exercised in due time; but to shew you that, as by Anacharsis report the Scythians did it without offence, so one swallow brings not summer, nor one particular example is sufficient prooffe for a generall precept. White silver drawes a black lyne; fyre is as hurtfull as healthie; water is as daungerous as it is commodious, and these qualities as harde to be wel used when we have them, as they are to be learned before wee get them. He that goes to sea must smel of the ship, and that which sayles into poets wil savour of pitch.

Qualities
allowed in
women.

C. Marius in the assembly of the whole Senate of Rome, in a solemne oration, giveth an account of his bringing up: he sheweth that he hath beene taught to lye on the ground, to suffer all weathers, to leade men, to strike his fo, to feare nothing but an evill name; and chalengeth praise unto himselfe in that he never learned the Greeke tounge, neither ment to be instructed in it hereafter, either that he thought it too farre a journey to fetch learning beyonde the fieldes, or because he doubted the abuses of those schooles where poets were ever the head maisters. Tiberius, the emperour, sawe somewhat when he judged Scaurus to death for writing a tragedy; Augustus when hee banished Ovid, and Nero when he charged Lucan to put up his pipes, to stay his penne, and write no more. Burrus and Seneca, the schoolemaisters of Nero, are flowted and hated of the people for teaching their scholer the song of Attis: for Dion saith, that he hearing thereof wrounge laughter and teares from most of those that were

Salust.

Poets cheefe
maisters in
Greece.

Dion. in vita
Neronis.

then about him. Wherby I judge that they scorned the folly of the teachers, and lamented the frenzy of the scholer, who beeing emperour of Rome, and bearing the weight of the whole common wealth uppon his shoulders, was easier to bee drawen to vanitie by wanton poets, then to good government by the fatherly counsel of grave senators. They were condemned to dye by the lawes of the Heathens whiche enchanted the graine in other mens grounds ; and are not they accursed, thinke you, by the mouth of God, which having the government of young Princes, with poetical fantasies draw them to the schooles of their own abuses, bewitching the graine in the greene blade, that was sowed for the sustenance of many thousands, and poysoning the spring with their amorous layes, whence the whole common wealth should fetch water ? But to leave the scepter to Jupiter, and instructing of Princes to Plutarch and Xenophon, I wil beare a lowe saile, and rowe neere the shore, least I chaunce to bee carried beyonde my reache, or runne a grounde in those coasts which I never knewe. My onely indeavour shalbe to shew you that in a rough cast which I see in a cloude, loking through my fingers.

And because I have been matriculated my self in the schoole where so many abuses flourish, I wil imitate the dogs of Ægypt, which comming to the bancks of Nylus to quench theyr thirste, syp and away, drinke running, lest they be snapt short for a pray to crocodiles. I shoulde tell tales out of schoole and bee ferruled for my fault, or hyssed at for a blab, yf I layde all the orders open before your eyes. You are no soner entred but libertie looseth the reynes and geves you head, placing you with poetrie in the lowest forme, when his skill is showne too make his scholer as good as ever twangde : he preferres you to pyping, from pyping to playing, from play to pleasure, from pleasure to slouth, from slouth to sleepe, from sleepe to sinne, from sinne to death, from death too the Divel, if you take your learning apace, and passe through every forme without

revolting. Looke not to have me discourse these at large : the crocodile watcheth to take me tardie : whichesoever of them I touche is a byle : tryppe and goe, for I dare not tarry.

Heraclides accounteth Amphion the ringleader of poets and pipers : Delphus Philammones penned the birth of Latona, Diana and Apollo in verse, and taught the people to pype and daunce rounde aboute the Temple of Delphos. Hesiodus was as cunning in pipyng as in poetrye : so was Terpandrus, and after hym Clonas. Apollo, whiche is honoured of poets as the God of their art, had at the one syde of his idoll in Delos a bowe, and at the other the three Graces with sundrie instrumentes ; and some writers doe affirme that he piped himself nowe and then.

Poetrie and piping have alwayes been so united together, that til the time of Melanippides pipers were poets
Plutarch.
hyerlings. But marke, I pray you, how they are now both abused.

The right use of auncient poetrie was to have the
Olde Poets.
notable exploytes of worthy captaines, the holesome counsels of good fathers and vertuous lives of predecessors set downe in numbers, and sung to the instrument at solemne feastes, that the sound of the one might draw the hearers from kissing the cup too often, the sense of the other put them in minde of things past, and chaulke out the way to do the like. After this maner were the Bæotians trained from rudenesse to civilitie, the Lacedæmonians instructed by Tyrtæus verse, the Argives by the melody of Telesilla, and the Lesbians by Alcæus odes.

To this end are instruments used in battaile, not to tickle the eare, but to teach every souldier when to strike and when to stay, when to flye and when to followe. Chiron by singing to his instrument quencheth Achilles fury : Terpan-
Homer.
drus with his notes laieth the tempest, and pacifies the tumult at Lacedæmon : Homer with his musike cured the sick souldiers in the Grecians camp, and purgeth every mans

tent of the plague. Thinke you that those miracles could bee wrought without playing of daunces, dumpes, pavins, galliades, measures, fancyes, or newe streynes? They never came where this grew, nor knew what it ment.

Pythagoras bequeathes them a clokebagge, and condemnes them for fooles, that judge musike by sound and eare. If you will bee good scholars, and profite well in the arte of musike, shut your fidels in their cases and looke uppe to Heaven: the order of the spheres, the unfallible motion of the planets, the juste course of the yeere, the varietie of the seasons, the concorde of the elementes and their qualities, fyre, water, ayre, earth, heate, colde, moisture and drought concurring togethether to the constitution of earthly bodies, and sustenance of every creature.

True musick. The politike lawes in wel governed common wealthes, that treade downe the proude and upholde the meeke; the love of the king and his subjectes, the father and his chylde, the lorde and his slave, the maister and his man; the trophees and triumphes of our auncestours which pursued vertue at the harde heeles, and shunned vice as a rock for feare of shipwracke, are excellent maisters to shewe you that this is right musicke, this perfecte harmony. Chiron when he appeased the wrath of Achilles tolde hym the duetie of a good souldier, repeated the vertues of his father Peleus, and sung the famous enterprises of noble men. Terpandrus, when he ended the brabbles at Lacedemon, neither piped Rogero nor Turkelony; but reckoning up the commodities of friendship and fruits of debate, putting them in minde of Licurgus lawes, taught them to tread a better measure. When Homers musicke drove the pestilence from the Grecians campe, ther was no such vertue in his penne, nor in his pipe, but, if I might be umpier, in the sweete harmonie of divers natures, and wonderful concorde of sundry medicines. For Apolloes cunning extendeth it self aswel to phisick, as musicke or poetrie; and Plutarche reporteth that as Chiron was a wise man, a learned

poet, a skilfull musition, so was hee also a teacher of justice by shewing what Princes ought to doe, and a reader of phisicke by opening the natures of many simples. If you enquire how many such poets and pipers we have in our age, I am perswaded that every one of them may creepe through a ring, or daunce the wilde morrice in an needles eye. We have infinit poets, and pipers, and suche peevish cattel among us in Englande, that live by merrie begging, mainteyned by almes, and prively encroche upon every mans purse. But if they that are in auctority, and have the sworde in their handes to cut of abuses, should call an accompt to see how many Chirons, Terpandri and Homers are heere, they might cast the summe without pen or counters, and sit downe with Racha to weepe for her children, because they were not.

He that compareth our instruments with those that were used in ancient tymes shall see them agree like dogges and cattes, and meete as jump as Germans lippes. Terpandrus and Olympus used instruments of 7 strings, and Plutarch is of opinion that the instruments of 3 strings, which were used before their time, passed all that have folowed since. It was an old law, and long kept, that no man should according to his own humor adde or diminish in matters concerning that art, but walk in the pathes of their predecessors. But when new-fangled Phrynis becam a fidler, being somewhat curious in carping, and serching for moats with a paire of bearded eies, thought to amend his maisters, and marred al. Timotheus, a bird of the same broode, and a right hound of the same haire, took the 7 stringed harp, that was altogether used in Terpandrus time, and encreased the number of the strings at his owne pleasure. The Argives appointed by their lawes great punishments for such as placed above 7 strings upon any instrument. Pythagoras commaunded that no musition should go beyond his diapason. Were the Argives and Pythagoras nowe alive, and saw how many frets, how many stringes, how many stops, how many keyes, how many cliffes,

howe many moodes, how many flats, how many sharpes, how many rules, how many spaces, how many noates, how many restes, how many querks, how many corners, what chopping, what changing, what tossing, what turning, what wresting and wringing is among our musitions, I believe verily that they would cry out with the country man, *Heu, quòd tam pingui macer est mihi taurus in arvo*. Alas, here is fat feeding and leane beasts; or as one said at the shearing of hogs, great cry and litle wool, much adoe and smal help. To shew the abuses of these unthrifty scholers, that despise the good rules of their ancient masters, and run to the shop of their owne devises, defacing olde stampes, forging newe printes, and coining strange precepts, Phærecrates, a comicall poet, bringeth in Musicke with her clothes tottered, her fleshe torne, her face deformed, her whole bodie mangled and dismembred: Justice, viewing her well and pitying her case, questioneth with her howe she came in that plight? to whom Musicke ^{Musicke sore} replies that Melanippides, Phrynus, Timotheus, ^{wounded.} and such fantasticall heades had so disfigured her lookes, defaced her beautie, so hacked her and hewed her, and with manye stringes geven her so many woundes, that she is stricken to death, in daunger to peryshe, and present in place the least part of her selfe. When the Sicilians and Dores forsooke the playn song that they had learned of their auncestours in the mountaynes, and practised long among theyr hearde, they founde out such descant in Sybaris instrumentes that by daunsing and skipping they fel into lewdnesse of life. Neither stayed those abuses in the compasse of that countrie; but like to ill weedes, in time spread so farre, that they choked the good grayne in every place.

For as poetrie and piping are cosen germanes, so piping and playing are of great affinitye, and all three chayned in linkes of abuse.

Plutarch complayneth that ignorant men, not knowing the majestie of auncient musike, abuse both the eares of the

people, and the arte it selfe, with bringing sweet comfortes into Theaters, which rather effeminate the minde as prickes unto vice, then procure amendement of maners as spurres to vertue. Ovid, the high Martial of Venus feeld, planteth his mayn battell in publike assemblies, sendeth out his scoutes to Theaters to descrye the enimie, and in steede of vaunte curriers, with instruments of musick, playing, singing and dauncing gives the first charge. Maximus Tyrius holdeth it for a maxime, that the bringing of instrumentes to Theaters and playes was the first cuppe that poysoned the common wealth. They that are borne in Seriphos and cockered continually in those islandes, where they see nothing but foxes and hares, will never be persuaded that there are huger beasts. They that never went out of the champion in Brabant will hardly conceive what rocks are in Germany; and they that never goe out of their houses, for regarde of their credite, nor steppe from the university for love of knowledge, seeing but slender offences and smal abuses within their own walles, wil never beleewe that such rocks are abroad, nor such horrible monsters in playing places. But as (I speake the one to my comforte, the other to my shame, and remember both with a sorowful heart) I was first instructed in the University, after drawn like a novice to these abuses, so will I shew you what I see, and informe you what I reade of such affaires. Ovid saith that Romulus builde his theater as a horsfaire for hoores, made triumphes and set out playes to gather the faire women together, that every one of his souldiers might take where hee liked a snatch for his share: whereupon the amarous schoolmaister bursteth out in these wordes:—

Romule, militibus solus dare præmia nosti:

Hæc mihi si dederis commoda, miles ero.

Thou, Romulus, alone knowest how thy souldiers to reward:

Graunt me the like, my selfe will be attendant on thy gard.

It should seeme that the abuse of such places was so great, that for any chaste liver to haunt them was a black swan, and

a white crow. Dion so streightly forbiddeth the ancient families of Rome, and gentlewomen that tender their name and honor, to com to Theaters, and rebuks them so sharply when he takes them napping, that if they be but once seene there, hee judgeth it sufficient cause to speake ill of them and thinke worse. The shadow of a knave hurts an honest man; the sent of the stewes a sober matron; and the shew of Theaters a simple gaser. Clitomachus the wrestler, geven altogether to manly exercise, if hee had hearde any talke of love, in what company soever he had ben, would forsake his seat and bid them adue.

Lacon, when hee sawe the Athenians studie so much to set out playes, sayde they were madde. If men for good exercise, and women for their credite, be shut from Theaters, whom shall we suffer to goe thither? Little children? Plutarche with a caveat keepeth them out, not so muche as admitting the litle crackhalter, that carrieth his masters pantables, to set foote within those doores; and alleageth this reason—that those wanton spectacles of light huswives drawing gods from the heavens, and young men from themselves to shipwracke of honesty, wil hurt them more then if at the epicures table they had burst their guts with over feeding. For if the bodie be overcharged, it may bee holpe, but the surfitte of the soule is hardely cured. Here,
Objection.

I doubt not, but some archeplayer or other that hath read a little, or stumbled by chance upon Plautus comedies, will cast me a bone or two to pick, saying that whatsoever these ancient writers have spoken against plaies is to be applied to the abuses in olde comedies, where gods are brought in as prisoners to beautie, ravishers of virgines, and servantes by love to earthly creatures. But the comedies that are exercised in our dayes are better sifted: they shewe no such branne. The first smelt of Plautus; these tast of Menander: the leudenes of the gods is altred and chaunged to the love of young men; force to friendshippe; rapes to

mariage; woing allowed by assurance of wedding; privie meetinges of bachelours and maidens on the stage, not as murderers that devour the good name ech of other in their mindes, but as those that desire to bee made one in hearte. Nowe are the abuses of the worlde revealed: every man in a playe may see his owne faultes, and learne by this glasse to amende his manners. Curculio may chatte till his heart ake, ere any bee offended with his girdes. Deformities are checked in jeast, and mated in earnest. The sweetenesse of musicke, and pleasure of sportes temper the bitternes of rebukes, and mittigate the tartnes of every taunt according to this:—

*Omne vafer vitium ridenti Flaccus amico
Narrat, et admissus circum precordia ludit.*

Flaccus among his friends, with fawning muse,
Doth nippe him neere that fostreth foule abuse.

Therefore, they are either so blinde that they cannot, or so blunt that they will not see why this exercise shoulde not be suffered as a profitable recreation. For my part, I am neither so fonde a phisition, nor so bad a cooke, but I can allowe my patient a cuppe of wine to meales, althoughe it be hotte and pleasant sawces to drive downe his meate, if his stomacke be queasie. Notwithstanding, if people will bee instructed (God bee thanked) wee have divines enough to discharge that, and moe by a greate many then are well harkened to: yet sith these abuses are growne to heade, and sinne so ripe, the number is lesse then I would it were. Euripides holds not him onely a foole, that being well at home will gadde abroad, that hath a conduit within doore and fetcheth water without, but all such beside as have sufficient in themselves to make themselves merry with pleasaunt talke, tending to good and mixed with *ευτραπelia*, the Grecians glee, yet will they seeke, when they neede not, to be sported abroad at playes and pageantes. Plutarch likeneth the recreation that is gotte by conference to a plesaunte banquet: the sweete

Answered.

pappe of the one sustaineth the body, the savery doctrine of the other doth nourish the mind; and as in banquetting the wayter standes readye to fill the cuppe, so in all our recreations we shoulde have an instructor at our elbowes to feede the soule. If we gather grapes among thistles, or seeke for this foode at theaters, wee shall have a harde pyttaunce and come to short commons. I cannot think that city to be safe that strikes downe her percolleces, rammes up her gates, and suffereth the enimie to enter the posterne: neyther will I bee persuaded that hee is any way likely to conquere affection which breaketh all his instrumentes, burneth his poets, abandons his haunt, muffleth his eyes as hee passeth the streate, and resortes to theaters to be assaulted. Cookees did never shewe more crafte in their junketts to vanquishe the taste, nor paynters in shadowes to allure the eye, then poets in theaters to wounde the conscience.

There set they a broche straunge consortes of melodie to tickle the eare, costly apparrell to flatter the sight, effeminate gesture to ravish the sence, and wanton speache to whette desire to inordinate lust. Therefore of both barrells I judge cookes and painters the better hearing, for the one extendeth his art no farther then to the tongue, palate and nose, the other to the eye, and both are ended in outward sense, which is common to us with brute beastes. But these by the privy entries of the eare sappe downe into the heart, and with gunshotte of affection gaule the minde, where reason and vertue shoulde rule the roste. These people in Rome were as pleasant as nectar at the first beginning, and caste out for lees when their abuses were knowen. They whome Cæsar uphelde were driven out by Octavian; whom Caligula reclaimed were cast of by Nero; whom Nerva exalted were throwne downe by Trajan; whom Anthony admitted were expelled agayn, pestred in gallies, and sent into Hellespont by Marcus Aurelius. But when the whole rabble of poets, pipers, players, jugglers, jesters and dauncers were received agayne, Rome

was reported to bee fuller of fooles then of wise men. Domitian suffered playing and dauncing so long in theaters, that Paris ledde the shaking of sheetes with Domitia, and Mnester, the Treuchmouth, with Messalina. Caligula made so much of players and dauncers, that he suffered them openly

Domitia was the first wife of Domitian, and Messalina the seconde.

to kisse his lippes, when the senators might scarce have a licke at his feete. He gave dauncers great stipends for selling their hopps, and placed Apelles, the player, by his own sweete side. Besides that, you may see what excellent grave men were ever about him: he loved Prasinus the cocheman so wel, that for good wil to the master he bid his horse to supper, gave him wine to drinke in cups of estate, set barly graines of gold before him to eate, and swore by no bugs that he would make him a Consul; which thing (saith Dion) had ben performed, but that he was prevented by sudden death; for as his life was abominable, so was his end miserable. Comming from dancing and playing, he was slayne by Chærea, a just reward and a fit catastrophe. I have heard some players vaunt of the credite they had in Rome, but they are as foolishe in that as Vibius Rufus, which bosted himselfe to be an Emperor, because he had syt in Cæsars chayre, and a perfect orator, because he was married to Tullies widow. Better might they say themselves to be murderers, because they have represented the persons of Thyestes, and Atreus, Achilles, and Hector; or perfect limelifters for teaching the trickes of every strompet. Such are the abuses that I read of in Rome: such are the caterpillers that have devoured and blasted the fruit of Ægypt: suche are the dragons that are hurtfull in Affricke: such are the adders that sting with pleasure and kill with payne; and such are the basiliskes of the world that poyson, as wel with the beame of their sight, as with the breath of their mouth.

Consider with thy selfe (gentle Reader) the olde discipline of Englande: marke what wee were before, and what we are

now. Leave Rome a while, and cast thine eye backe to thy predecessours, and tell me howe woonderfully we have beene changed since we were schooled with these abuses. Dion saith

Manners of that English men could suffer watching and labor, England in old hunger and thirst, and beare of all storms with time.

head and shoulders: they used slender weapons, went naked, and wer good soldiours: they fedde uppon rootes and barks of trees: they would stande up to the chinne many dayes in marshes without victualles, and they had a kinde of sustenance in time of neede, of which if they hadde taken but the quantitie of a beane, or the weight of a pease, they did neither gape after meate, nor long for the cuppe a great while

after. The men in valure not yeelding to Scythia; Olde exercise in England. the women in courage passing the Amazons. The exercise of both was shooting and darting, running and wrestling, and trying such maisteries as eyther consisted in swiftnesse of feet, agilitie of bodie, strength of armes, or martiall discipline.

New England. But the exercise that is nowe among us is banquetting, playing, pyping, and dauncing, and all suche delightes as may winne us to pleasure, or rocke us in sleepe. *Quantum mutatus ab illo!* Oh, what a wonderfull change is this! Our wrastling at armes is turned to wallowing in ladies lappes; our courage to cowardice; our cunning to riot, our bowes into bolles, and our dartes to dishes. Wee have robbed Greece of gluttony, Italy of wantonnes, Spayne of pride, France of deceite, and Duchland of quaffing. Compare London to Rome and England to Italy, you shall finde the theaters of the one, the abuses of the other, to bee rife among us. *Experto crede:* I have seene somewhat, and therefore I thinke I may say the more. In Rome when playes or pageants are shewne, Ovid changeth his pilgrims to creepe close to the Saintes whome they serve, and shewe their double diligence to lift the gentlewomens roabes from the ground for soyling in the duste, to sweepe moates from their kyrtles, to keepe their

fingers in use, to lay their hands at their backes for an easie stay, to looke uppon those whome they beholde, to prayse that which they commende, to like everye thing that pleaseth them, to present them pomgranates to picke as they set, and when all is done to wayte on them mannerly to their houses. In our assemblies at playes in London, you shall see suche heaving and shooving, suche ytching and shouldering to sytte by women; suche care for their garments that they be not trode on; suche eyes to their lappes that no chippes lighte in them; such pillowes to their backes that they take no hurte; suche masking in their eares, I know not what; suche geving them pippins to passe the time; suche playing at foote saunt without cardes; such ticking, such toying, such smiling, such winking, and such manning them home when the sportes are ended, that it is a right comedie to marke their behaviour, to watch their conceates, as the catte for the mouse, and as good as a course at the game it selfe, to dogge them a little, or follow aloofe by the printe of their feete, and so discover by slotte where the deare taketh soyle.

If this were as well noted as il seene, or as openly punished as secretely practised, I have no doubt but the cause woulde be seared to drye up the effect, and these prettie rabbets verye cunningly ferretted from their borrowes. For they that lacke customers all the weeke, either because their haunt is unknownen, or the constables and officers of their parish watch them so narrowly that they dare not queatche, to celebrate the Sabboth flocke too theaters, and there keepe a generall market of bawdrie. Not that anye filthinesse, in deede, is committed within the compasse of that ground, as was once done in Rome, but that every wanton and [his] paramour, everye man and his mistresse, every John and his Joane, every knave and his queane are there first acquainted, and cheapen the merchandise in that place, which they pay for else where, as they can agree. These wormes, when they dare not nestle in the pescod at home, find refuge abroad and ar hidde in the eares of other mens corne.

Brodel Houses.

Every vauter in one blind tavernne or other is tenant at will, to which she tolleth resort, and playes the stale to utter their victuals, and helpe them to emptie their mustie caskes. There is she so entreated with woordes and received with curtesie, that every back roome in the house is at her commaundement. Some that have neyther land to mainteine them, nor good occupation to get their bread, desirous to strowte it with the best, yet disdayning to live by the sweat of their browes, have founde out this cast of ledgerdemayne to playe fast and loose among their neighbours. If any part of musicke have suffred shipwrecke and arived by fortune at their fingers endes, with shewe of gentility they take up faire houses, receive lusty lasses at a price for boordes, and pipe from morning till evening for wood and coale. By the brothers, cosens, uncles, great grandsiers, and suche like acquayntance of their gheastes, they drink the best, they syt rent free, they have their owne table spread to their handes without wearing the strings of their purse, or any thing else but housholde and honestie. When resort so encreaseth that they grow in suspition, and the pottes which are sent so often to the tavernne gette such a knock before they come home, that they returne their maister a cracke to his credite, though hee bee called in question of his life, he hath shiftes yenough to avoyd the blank. If their houses bee searched, some instrumente of musicke is laide in sighte to dazell the eyes of every officer, and all that are lodged in the house by night, or frequent it by day, come thither as pupilles to be well schoolde. Other there are, which beyng so knowne that they are the bye word of every mans mouth, and pointed at commonly as they passe the streetes, eyther couch themselves in allies or blinde lanes, or take sanctuary in Frieries, or live a mile from the cittee, like Venus nunnes in a cloyster of Nuington, Ratliff, Islington, Hogsdon or some such place, where like penitentes they deny the world, and spende their dayes in double devotion; and when they are weery of contemplation, to consort themselves

and renue their acquaintance, they visit Theaters, where they make full accompt of a pray before they depart.

Solon made no law for parricides, because he feared that he should rather put men in mind to commit such offences, then by any strange punishment geve them a bit to keep them under; and I intend not to shew you al that I see, nor half that I here of these abuses, lest you judge me more wilful to teach them, then willing to forbid them. I looke stil when Players shoulde cast me their gauntlettes, and challenge a com-bate for entring so farre into theyr possessions, as thoughe I made them Lordes of this Misrule, or the very schoolemaisters of these abuses: though the best clarks be of that opinion, they heare not mee saye so. There are more howses then parishe churches, more maydes then Maulkin, more wayes to the wood then one, and more causes in nature then efficientes. The carpenter rayseth not his frame without tooles, nor the Divell his woorke without instrumentes: were not Players the meane to make these assemblies, suche multitudes woulde hardly bee drawne in so narrowe a roome. They seeke not to hurte, but desire to please: they have purged their comedies of wanton speaches, yet the corne which they sell is full of cockle, and the drinke that they drawe overcharged with dregges. There is more in them then we perceive: the Divell standes at our elbowe when we see not, speaks when we heare him not, strikes when we feele not, and woundeth sore when he raseth no skinne nor rentes the fleshe. In those thinges that we lest mistrust the greatest daunger doeth often lurke: the countrie-man is more afraid of the serpent that is hid in the grasse, than the wilde beaste that openly feedes upon the mountaines: the marriner is more endaungered by privye shelves then knowen rockes: the souldier is sooner killed with a little bullet then a long sworde. There is more perill in close fistuloes then outward sores, in secret ambushe then mayne batteles, in undermining then playne assaulting, in friendes then foes, in civill discorde then forrayne warres. Small are the abuses,

and slight are the faultes that nowe in Theaters escape the poets pen ; but tall cedars from little graynes shoote high : greate oakes from slender rootes spread wide : large streames from narrowe springes runn farre : one little sparke fiers a whole citie : one dramme of Elleborns raunsacks every vayne : the fishe Remora hath a small body, and great force to staye shippes agaynst winde and tide : Ichneumon, a little worme, overcomes the elephant : the viper slayes the bull ; the weesell the cockatrice, and the weakest waspe stingeth the stoutest man of warre. The height of Heaven is taken by the staffe : the bottome of the sea sounded with lead : the farthest cost discovered by compasse : the secrets of nature searched by wit : the anotomy of man set out by experience ; but the abuses of Plaies cannot be shoven, because they passe the degrees of the instrument, reach of the plummet, sight of the minde, and for tryall are never broughte to the touchstone. Therefore, he that wil avoyde the open shame of privie sinne, the common plague of private offences, the greate wrackes of little rockes, the sure disease of uncertaine causes, must set hande to the sterne, and eye to his steppes to shun the occasion as neere as he can ; neither running to bushes for renting his clothes, nor rent his clothes for emparing his thrift, nor walke upon yse for taking of a fall, nor take a fall for brusing himselfe, nor go to Theaters for beeing allured, nor once bee allured for feare of abuse.

Bunduica, a notable woman and a Queene of Englande that time that Nero was Emperour of Rome, having some of the Romans in garrison heere against her, in an oration which she made to her subjects, seemed utterly to contemne their force and laugh at their folly. For shee accounted them unworthy the name of men, or title of souldiers, because they were smoothly appareled, soft lodged, daintely feasted, bathed in warme waters, rubbed with sweet oyntments, strewd with fine
 The Queenes Majestie. poulders, wine swillers, singers, dauncers and players. God hath now blessed England with

a Queene, in vertue excellent, in power mighty, in glory renowned, in government politike, in possession rich, breaking her foes with the bent of her browe, ruling her subjects with shaking her hand, removing debate by diligent foresight, filling her chests with the fruites of peace, ministring justice by order of law, reforming abuses with great regarde, and bearing her sword so even, that neither the poore are trode under foote, nor the rich suffred to looke to hye: nor Rome, nor France, nor tyrant, nor Turke dare for their lives to enter the list. But we, unworthy servants of so milde a mistresse, degenerate children of so good a mother, unthankful subjects of so loving a prince, wound her swete hart with abusing her lenitie, and stir Jupiter to anger to send us a storke that shal devoure us. How often hath her Majestie, with the grave advice of her whole Councel, set downe the limits of apparel to every degree, and how soone againe hath the pride of our harts overflowen the chanel? Howe many times hath accesse to theaters beene restrained, and howe boldely againe have we reentred? over-lashing in apparel is so common a fault, that the verye hyerlings of some of our plaiers, which stand at reversion of vi^s by the weeke, jet under gentlemens noses in sutes of silke, exercising them selves to prating on the stage, and common scoffing when they come abroad, where they looke askance over the shoulder at every man of whom the Sunday before they begged an almes. I speake not this as though every one that professeth the qualitie so abused him selfe, for it is wel known that some of them are sober, discreete, properly learned, honest housholders, and citizens well thought on amonge their neighbours at home, Some players modest, if I be not deceived. though the pride of their shadowes (I meane those hangbyes whome they succour with stipend) cause them to bee somewhat il talked of abroad.

And as some of the players are farre from abuse, so some of their playes are without rebuke, which are easily remem-

Some playes tollerable at sometime. bered, as quickly reckoned. The two prose bookes played at the Belsavage, where you shall finde never a woorde without witte, never a line without pith, never a letter placed in vaine. The Jew, and Ptolome, showne at the Bull; the one representing the greedinesse of worldly chusers, and bloody mindes of usurers; the other very lively describing howe seditious estates with their owne devises, false friendes with their owne swords, and rebellious commons in their owne snares are overthrowne; neither with amorous gesture wounding the eye, nor with slovenly talke hurting the eares of the chast hearers. The Black Smiths Daughter, and Catilins Conspiracies, usually brought in at the Theater: the firste containing the trechery of Turks, the honourable bountye of a noble mind, the shining of vertue in distresse. The last because it is knowen to be a pig of mine owne Sowe, I will speake the lesse of it; onely giving you to understand that the whole mark which I shot at in that woorke was to shewe the rewarde of traytors in Catiline, and the necessary government of learned men in the person of Cicero, which forsees every danger that is likely to happen, and forstalles it continually ere it take effect. Therefore I give these

λῳγφ. 3. playes the commendation that Maximus Tyrius gave to Homers works—καλὰ μὲν γὰρ τὰ Ὀμήρου ἔπη, καὶ ἔπων τὰ κάλλιστα, καὶ φανώτατα, καὶ ἄδεσθαι μουσαῖς πρέποντα ἀλλὰ οὐ πᾶσι καλὰ, οὐδὲ ἀεὶ καλὰ.

These playes are good playes and sweete playes, and of all playes the best playes, and most to be liked, woorthy to be soung of the Muses, or set out with the cunning of Roscius him self, yet are they not fit for every mans dyet: Playes are not to be made neither ought they commonly to be shoven. Now, common. if any man aske me why my selfe have penned comedyes in time past, and inveigh so egerly against them here, let him knowe that *Semel insanavimus omnes*: I have sinned, and am sorry for my fault: he runnes far that never turnes: better late then never. I gave my selfe to that ex-

ercise in hope to thrive, but I burnt one candle to seeke another, and lost bothe my time and my travell when I had done.

Thus sithe I have in my voyage suffred wracke with Ulisses, and wringing-wett scrambled with life to the shore, stand from mee Nausicaä with all thy traine, till I wipe the blot from my forehead, and with sweete springs wash away the salt froth that cleaves to my soule. Meane time, if players be called to account for the abuses that growe by these assemblyes, I woulde not have them to aunswere, as Pilades did for the theaters of Rome when they were complayned on, and Augustus waxed angrye : “ This resorte, O Cæsar, is good for thee, Dion inivta Augusti. for heere wee keepe thousandes of idle heds occu-

pied, which else peradventure would brue some mischief.”

A fit cloude to cover their abuse, and not unlike to the starting hole that Lucinius founde, who like a greedy surveiour, beeing sent into Fraunce to governe the countrie, robbed them and spoyled them of all their treasure with unreasonable taskes : at the last, when his crueltie was so lowdely cryed out on that every man heard it, and all his packing did savour so stronge that Augustus smelt it, hee brought the good Emperour into his house, flapped him in the mouth with a smooth lye, and tolde him, that for his sake and the safetie of Players compared to Lucinius. Rome, hee gathered that riches, the better to impoverish the countrie for rying in armes, and so holde the poore Frenchmennes noses to the grindstone for ever after.

A bad excuse is better, they say, then none at all. Hee, because the Frenchman paid tribute every moneth, into xiiii moneths devided the yeere : these, because they are allowed to play every Sunday, make 4 or 5 Sundayes at least every weeke ; and all that is doone is good for Augustus, to busy the wits of his people for running a wool-gathering, and emptie their purses for thriving to fast. Though Lucinius had the cast to plaister upp his credite with the losse of his money, I trust that they which have the swoorde in their hands among

us to pare away this putrified flesh, are sharp sighted and wil not so easely be deluded.

Epistola ad Marcus Aurelius saith, that players falling from Lambertum. just labour to unjuste idlenesse doe make more trewands, and ill husbands, then if open schooles of unthrifths and vacabounds were kept. Who soever readeth his epistle to Lambert, the governour of Hellespont, when players were banished, shall finde more against them, in plainer termes, then I will utter.

This have I set downe of the abuses of poets, pipers and players, which bring us to pleasure, slouth, sleepe, sinne, and without repentaunce to death and the devill: whiche I have not confirmed by authoritie of Scriptures, because they are not able to stand uppe in the sight of God; and sithens they dare not abide the felde, where the worde of God doth bid them battaile, but runne to antiquities (though nothing be Scriptures more ancient then holy Scriptures) I have given too hoate for Players. them a volley of prophan writers to begin the skirmish, and doone my indeavour to beate them from their holdes with their owne weapons. The patient that wil be cured of his owne accord must seeke the meane: if every man desire to save one, and drawe his owne feete from Theaters, it shall prevaile as much against these abuses, as Homers Moly against witchcraft, or Plinies peristerion against the byting of dogges.

God hath armed every creature against his enemie: the lyon with pawes, the bull with hornes, the bore with tuskes, the vulture with tallents, harts, hindes, hares and such like with swiftnesse of feet, because they are fearefull, every one of them putting his gifte in practise; but man, which is lord of the whole earth, for whose service herbes, trees, rootes, plants, fish, foule and beasts of the felde were first made, is farre worse then the brute beastes: for they, endewed but with sence, doe, *appetere salutaria et declinare noxia*, seeke that which helps them, and forsake that which hurtes them.

Man is enriched with reason and knowledge ; with knowledge to serve his maker and governe himselfe ; with reason to distinguish good and ill, and chose the best, neither referring the one to the glory of God, nor using the other to his owne profite.

Fire and ayre mount upwardes, earth and water sinke downe, and every insensible body els never rests til it bring it selfe to his owne home. But we, which have both sense, reason wit and understanding, are ever overlashing, passing our bounds, going beyond our limites, never keeping our selves within compasse, nor once loking after the place from whence we came, and whither we muste in spighte of our hartes. Aristotle thinketh that in greate windes the Bees carry little stones in their mouthes to peyse their bodies, leste they bee carryed away or kept from their hives, unto whiche they desire to returne with the fruites of their labour. The crane is said to rest uppon one leg, and holding uppe the other keeps a pebble in her claw, which as soone as the sences are bound by approche of sleepe falles to the ground, and with the noyse of the knock against the earth makes her awake, whereby shee is ever ready to prevent her enemyes. Geese are foolish byrdes, yet when they flye over the mount Taurus they showe great wisdom in their own defence ; for they stop their pipes full of gravel to avoide gagging, and so by silence escape the eagles. Woodcocks, though they lack witte to save them selves, yet they want not wit to avoyde hurte, when they thrust their heads in a bushe and thinke their bodyes out of danger. But wee, which are so brittle that we breake with every fillop, so weake that we are drawne with every thread, so light that wee are blown away with every blast, so unsteady that we slip in every ground, neither peyse our bodyes against the winde, nor stand uppon one legge for sleeping too much, nor close upp our lippes for betraying our selves, nor use any witte to garde

our owne persons, nor shewe our selves willing to shunne our owne harmes, running most greedily to those places where wee are soonest overthrowne. I can not liken our affection better then to an arrowe, which, getting libertie, with winges is carryed beyonde our reach; kepte in the quiver it is still at commaundement: or to a dogge; let him slippe, he is straight out of sight; holde him in the lease, hee never stirres: or to a colte; give him the bridle, he flinges about; raine him hard and you may rule him: or to a ship; hoyst the sayles, it runnes on head; let fall the ancour, all is well: or to Pandoraes boxe; lift upp the lidde, out flyes the Devil; shut it up fast, it cannot hurt us.

Let us but shut uppe our eares to poets, pipers and players; pull our feete backe from resorte to theaters, and turne away our eyes from beholding of vanitie, the greatest storme of abuse will bee overblowne, and a faire path troden to amendment of life: were not we so foolish to taste every drugge and buy every trifle, players woulde shut in their shops, and carry their trash to some other country.

Themistocles in setting a peece of his ground to sale, among all the commodities which were reckoned uppe, straightly charged the cryer to proclaime this, that hee which bought it should have a good neighbour. If players can promise in woordes, and performe it in deedes, proclaime it in their billes, and make it good in their Theaters, that there is nothing there noysome to the body, nor hurtfull to the soule, and that every one which comes to buy their jestes shall have an honest neighbour, tagge and ragge, cutte and long tayle, goe thither and spare not, otherwise I advise you to keepe you thence: my selfe will beginne to leade the daunce.

I make just reckoning to bee helde for a Stoike in dealing so hardly with these people; but all the keyes hange not at one mans girdell, neither doe these open the lockes to all abuses. There are other which have a share with them in their schooles; therefore ought they to daunce the same rounde,

and be partakers together of the same rebuke. Fencers, Dicers, Dauncers, Tumblers, Carders and Bowlers.

Dauncers and Tumblers, because they are dumbe Dauncers and Players, and I have glaunched at them by the way, Tumblers. shall be let passe with this clause, that they gather no assemblies, and goe not beyonde the precincts which Peter Martyr in his Commentaries uppon the Judges hath set them downe. That is, if they will exercise those qualityes, to doe it privilye for the health and agilitie of the body, referring all to the glorie of God.

Dycers and Carders, because these abuses are as Dicers and commonly cryed out on as usually shoven, have no Carders. neede of a needlesse discourse, for every manne seeth them, and they stinke almoste in every mans nose. Com- Bowling Al- mon bowling allyes are privy mothes, that eate leys. uppe the credite of many idle citizens, whose gaines at home are not able to weigh downe their losses abroad; whose shoppes are so farre from maintaining their play, that their wives and children cry out for bread, and goe to bedde supperlesse ofte in the yeere.

I woulde reade you a lecture of these abuses, but my Schoole so increaseth that I cannot touch all, nor stand to amplifie every poynte. One worde of fencing, and so a *congé* to all kinde of playes. The knowledge in weapons Fencers. may bee gathered to be necessary in a common wealth by the Senators of Rome, who in the time of Catilins conspiracyes caused Schooles of Defence to be erected Salust. in Capua, that teaching the people howe to warde, and how to locke, howe to thrust and howe to strike, they might the more safely coape with their enemyes. As the arte of logique was first sette downe for a rule by whiche wee might *confirmare nostra et refutare aliena*, confirme our owne reasons and confute the allegations of our adversaryes, the end being trueth, which once fished out by the harde incounter of eithers argumentes, like fire by the knockinge of flintes together, bothe

partes shoulde be satisfied and strive no more. And I judge that the craft of defence was first devised to save our selves harmelesse, and holde enimies still at advantage, the ende being right, which once throughely tryed out at handye stroakes, neither hee that offered injurie should have his wil, nor he that was threatened take any hurte; but both be contented and shake handes.

Those dayes are nowe changed: the skill of logicians is exercised in caveling; the cunning of fencers applied to quarrelling: they thinke themselves no schollers, if they be not able to finde out a knotte in every rushe; these no men, if for stirring of a strawe they prove not their valure uppon some bodies fleshe. Every Duns will bee a carper; every Dicke Swashe a common cutter. But as they bake, many times so they brue: selfe doe, selfe have: they whette their swords against themselves, pull the house on their owne heades, retorne home by Weeping Crosse, and fewe of them come to an honest ende; for the same water that drives the mil, decayeth it: the wood is eaten by the worme that breedes within it: the goodnes of a knife cuts the owners finger: the adders death is her owne broode; the fencers scath his owne knowledge. Whether their harts be hardened which use that exercise, or God geve them over, I knowe not well: I have read of none

good that practised it muche. Commodus, the
Commodus a
 fencer and
 exercised in
 murder. Emperour, so delighted in it, that often times he slue one or other at home to keepe his fingers in

use; and one day hee gathered all the sicke, lame, and the impotent people in one place, where hee hampered their feete with strange devises, gave them soft sponges in their handes to throwe at him for stones, and with a great clubbe knatched them all on the hed as they had been giauntes.

Epaminondas, a famous captaine, sore hurte in a
Epaminondas
 minde on his
 buckler. battayle, and carried out of the feelde halfe dead,

when tydinges was broughte him that his souldiers gotte the day, asked presently what became of his buckler?

whereby it appeareth that he loved his weapons, but I finde it not said that he was a fencer. Therefore I may liken them, which would not have men sent to the warre till they are taughte fencing, to those superstitious wisemen which would not take upon them to burye the bodies of their friendes, before they had beene cast unto wilde beastes. Fencing is growne to such abuse, that I may well compare the schollers of this schoole to them that provide staves for their owne shoulders; that foster snakes in their owne bosoms; that trust wolves to garde their sheepe, and the men of Hyrcania that keepe mastiffes to woorrye themselves.

Though I speake this to the shame of common fencers, I goe not aboute the bushe with souldiers. Homer calleth them the Sonnes of Jupiter, the images of God, and the very sheepherds of the people: beeing the Sonnes of Jupiter, they are bountifull to the meeke, and thunder out plagues to the proude in heart: being the images of God, they are the welsprings of justice, which geveth to every man his owne: beeing accompted the shepherdes of the people, they fight with the wolfe for the safetie of their flock, and keepe of the enimie for the wealth of their countrie. Howe full are poets woorkes of bucklers, battels, launces, dartes, bowes, quivers, speares, javelins, swords, slaughters, runners, wrestlers, chariottes, horse and men at armes! Agamemnon, beyonde the name of a king, hath this title, that he was a souldier. Menelaus, because he loved his kercher better then his burgonet, a softe bed then a hard felde, the sound of instrumentes then neighing of steedes, a fayre stable then a foule way, is let slippe without prayse. If Lycurgus, before hee make lawes for Sparta, take counsell of Apollo whether it were good for him to teach the people thrifte, and husbandrie, he shalbe charged to leave those preceptes to the white liverd Hylotes. The Spartanes are all steele, fashioned out of tougher mettall, free in mind, valiant in heart, servile to none; accustoming their fleshe to stripes, their bodies to labour, their feete to hunting, their handes to

fighting. In Crete, Scythia, Persia, Thracia, all the lawes tended to maintenance of martial discipline. Among the Scythians no man was permitted to drinke of their festivall cuppe, which had not manfully killed an enemy in fight. I coulde wish it in Englande, that there were greater preferment for the valiant Spartans, then the sottishe Hilotes; that our lawes were directed to rewarding of those whose lives are the first that must be hazarded to maineteyne the liberty of the lawes. The gentlemen of Carthage were not allowed to weare any more linkes in their chaynes, then they had seene battailes. If our gallantes of Englande might carry no more linkes in their chaynes, nor ringes on their fingers, then they have fought feelds, their neckes should not bee very often wreathed in golde, nor their handes imbrodered with precious stones. If none but they might be suffered to drinke out of plate, that have in skirmish slain one of her Majesties enemies, many thousands shoulde bring earthen pots to the table.

Let us learn by other mens harme to looke to our selves. When the Ægyptians were moste busy in their husbandrie, the Scythians overran them: when the Assyrians wer looking to their thrift, the Persians were in armes, and overcam them: when the Trojans thought themselves safest, the Greekes were nearest: when Rome was a sleepe, the Frenche men gave a sharpe assault to the Capitoll: when the Jewes were idle, their walles were rased and the Romans entred: when the Chaldees were sporting, Babilon was sacked: when the Senators were quiet, no garisons in Italy, and Pompey from home, wicked Catiline began his mischevous enterprise. We are like those unthankfull people which puffed up with prosperity forget the good turnes they received in adversity. The patient feeds his Phisition with gold in time of sicknes, and when he is wel, scarsely affoords him a cup of water. Some there are that make gods of soldiers in open warrs, and trusse them up like dogs in time of peace. Take heed of the foxeford night cap; I meane those schoolemen that cry out upon Mars, calling him

the bloody god, the angry god, the furious god, the mad god, *πολύδακτυς*, the teare thirsty god. These are but casts of their office and wordes of course. That is a vain brag, and a false allarme that Tullie gives to soldiers,

Cedant arma togæ, concedat laurea linguæ

Let gunns to gouns, and bucklers yeeld to bookes.

If the enemy beseege us, cut off our victuals, prevent forreine aide, girt in the city, and bring the ramme to the walles, it is not Ciceroes tongue that can peerce their armour to wound the body, nor Archimedes prickles, and lines, and circles, and triangles, and rhombus, and riffe raffe that hath any force to drive them backe. Whilst the one chats, his throte is cut; whilest the other syttes drawing mathematicall fictions, the enimie standes with a swoord at his breast. Hee that talketh muche and doeth little is like unto him that sailes with a side wind, and is borne with the tide to a wrong shore. If they meane to doe any goode in deede, bidde them follow Demosthenes and joyne with Phocion; when they have geven us good counsel in wordes, make muche of souldiers that are ready to execute the same with their swoordes. Bee not carelesse; plough with weapons by your sides; studie with a booke in one hand, a darte in the other; enjoy peace with provision for warre; when you have left the sandes behinde you, looke well to the rockes that lie before you; let not the overcomming one tempest make you secure, but have an eye to the cloud that comes from the south, and threateneth rayne. The least oversight in dangerous seas may cast you away: the least discontinuance of martiall exercise geve you the foyle. When Achilles loytered in his tent, geving eare to musicke, his souldiers were bidde to a hot breakefast. Hannibals power received more hurte in one dayes ease at Capua, then in al the conflicts they had at Cannas. It were not good for us to flatter our selves with these golden dayes: highe floodes have lowe ebbes; hotte fevers could crampes; long daies shorte

nightes, drie summers moyst winters. There was never fort so strong but it might be battered, never ground so fruitful but it might be barren, never cuntry so populous but it might be wast, never monarch so mighty but he might be weakened, never realme so large but it might be lessened, never kingdom so flourishing but it might be decayed. Scipio before he levied his force to the walles of Carthage gave his souldiers the print of the cittie in a cake to be devoured: our enimies, with Scipio, have already eaten us with bread, and licked up our blood in a cup of wine. They do but tarry the tyde, watch opportunitie, and wayt for the reckoning, that with the shot of our lives shoulde paye for all. But that God that neither slumbreth nor sleepeth for the love of Israel, that stretcheth out his armes from morning to evening to cover his children (as the hen doth her chicken with the shadow of her wings) with the breath of his mouth shall overthrowe them, with their owne snares shall overtake them, and hang them up by the heare of their owne devises.

Laborers. Notwithstanding, it behoveth us in the mean season not to sticke in the myer, and gape for succour without using some ordinarye waye our selves; or to lye wallowing like lubbers in the ship of the common wealth, crying Lord, Lord! when we see the vessell toyle, but joyntly lay our hands and heads and helps together to avoide the danger, and save that which must be the surety of us all. For as to the body ther are many members serving to severall uses, the eye to see, the eare to heare, the nose to smell, the tongue to tast, the hand to touch, the feet to beare the whole burden of the rest, and every one dischargeth his duety without grudging, so shoulde the whole body of the common wealth consist of fellow laborers, all generally serving one head, and particularly following their trade without repining. From the head to the foote, from top to the toe, there shoulde nothing be vaine, no body idle. Jupiter himself shall stand for example, who is ever in worke, still mooving and turning about the

heavens: if he should pull his hand from the frame, it were impossible for the world to endure. All would be day, or al night; al Spring or al Autume; all Sommer or all Winter; al heate or al could; al moysture or al drowght; no time to til, no time to sow; no time to plant, no time to reape; the earth barren, the rivers stopt, the seas stayde, the seasons chaunged, and the whole course of nature overthrowne. The meane must labor to serve the mighty; the mighty must study to defend the meane. The subjects must sweat in obedience to their Prince; the Prince must have a care over his poore vassals.

If it be the duety of every man in a common wealth one way or other to bestirre his stoomps, I cannot but blame those lither contemplators very much, which sit concluding of sillogismes in a corner, which in a close studye in the Universitye coope themselves up xl yeres together, studying al things and professe nothing. The bell is knowen by his sounde, the birde by her voyce, the lion by his rore, the tree by the fruite, a man by his woorkes. To continue so long without mooving, to reade so much without teaching, what differeth it from a dumbe picture, or a dead body? No man is born to seek private profit; part for his countrie, parte for his freends, part for himselfe. The foole that comes into a faire garden likes the beawty of the flowers, and stickes them in his cap: the phisition considereth their nature, and puttes them in the pot: in the one they wither without profite; in the other they serve to the health of the bodie. He that readeth good writers, and pickes out their flowers for his owne nose is like a foole: hee that preferreth their vertue before their sweet smel is a good phisition. When Anacharsis travelled all over Greece to seeke out wise men, he found none in Athens, though no doubt there were many good schollers there; but comming to Chenas, a blind village in comparison of Athens, a Palcockes Inne, he found one Miso, well governing his house, looking to his ground, instructing his children, teaching his family, making

of marriages among his acquayntance, exhorting his neighbours to love and friendship, and preaching in life; whom the philosopher, for his scarcitie of woordes, plenty of workes, accompted the onelye wiseman that ever he saw.

I speak not this to preferre Botley before Oxeford, a cottage of clownes before a colledge of Muses, Pans pipe before Apollos harp; but to shew you that poore Miso can reade you such a lecture of philosophie as Aristotle never dreamed on. You must not thruste your heades in a tubbe and say *Benè vivit, qui benè latuit*, hee hath lived well that hath loitred well. Standing streames geather filth; flowing rivers are ever sweet. Come forth with your sicles, the harvest is greate, the laborers few: pul up the sluces, let out your springs, geve us drink of your water, light your torches and season us a little with the salt of your knowledge. Let Phoenix and Achilles, Demosthenes and Phocion, Pericles and Cimon, Lælius and Scipio, Nigidius and Cicero, the word and the sword, be knitte together. Set your talents a worke; lay not up your trespure for taking rust; teach early and late, in time and out of time; sing with the swan to the last houre. Follow the dauncing chaplens of Gradivus Mars, which chaunte the prayses of their god with voyces, and tread out the time with their feet. Play the good captaynes: exhort your souldiers with your tongues to fight, and bring the first ladder to the wall your selves: sound like bells and shine like lanternes; thunder in words and glister in workes; so shall you please God, profite your country, honor your prince, discharge your dueties, geve up a good accompt of your stewardship and leave no sinne untouched, no abuse unrebuked, no fault unpunished.

Sundry are the abuses, as well of Universityes as other
Carpers. places, but they are such as neither become me to
touch, nor every idle head to understand. The
Thurines made a law that no common find fault should meddle
with any abuse but adultery. Pythagoras bound all his

schollers to five yeers silence, that assoone as ever ^{εχεμθια} they crept from the shel, they might not aspire to Pithagoras. the house top. It is not good for every man to travell to Corinth, nor lawfull for all to talk what they list, or write what they please, least their tongs run before their wits, or their pennes make havock of their paper, and so wading too farre in other mens maners, whilst they fill their bookes with other mens faults, they make their volume no better then an apothecaries shop of pestilent drugges, a quackesalvers budget of filthy receites, and a huge chaos of fowle disorder. Cookes did never long more for great markets, nor fishers for large pondes, nor greedy dogs for store of game, nor soaring hawkes for plenty of foule, then carpers doe now for cotype of abuses, that they might ever bee snarling, and have some flyes or other in the waye to snatche at.

As I would that offences should not be hid for going unpunished, nor escape without scourge for il example, so I wishe that every rebuker should place a hatch before the doore, keepe his quill within compasse. He that holdes not himselfe contented with the light of the sunne, but liftes his eyes to measure the bignes, is made blinde : he that bites every weede to searche out his nature may lighte uppon poyson, and so kill himselfe : he that loves to be sifting of every cloude may be strooke with a thunderbolt, if it chance to rent, and hee that taketh uppon him to shewe men their faults may wound his owne credite, if he go too farre. We are not angry with the Clarke of the Market, if he come to our stall and reproove our ballaunce when they are faultie, or forfeit our weightes when they are false : nevertheles, if he presume to enter our house and rigge every corner, searching more then belongs to his office, we lay holde on his locks, turne him away with his backe full of stripes, and his handes loden with his own amendes. Therefore, I will contente my selfe to shewe you no more abuses in my Schoole, then myself have seene, nor so many by hundreds as I have hearde off. Lyons folde uppe there nailles when they

are in their dennes, for wearing them in the earth and nede not: eagles draw in their tallants as they set in their nestes, for blunting them there among drosse; and I will cast ancor in these abuses, reste my barke in this simple roade, for grating my wittes upon needlesse shelves. And because I accuse other for treading awry, which since I was borne never went right; because I finde so many faults abroad, which have at home more spottes on my body then the leopard, more staines on my coate then the wicked Nessus, more holes in my life then the open sive, more sinnes in my soule then heares on my head, if I have beene tedious in my lecture, or you be weary of your lesson, harken no longer for the clock, shut upp the Schoole, and get you home.

FINIS.

To the right honorable Sir Richard Pipe, Knight,
Lord Maior of the Cittie of London, and
the right worshipfull his brethren,
continuance of health, and
maintenance of civil
gouvernement.

Pericles was woont (right honorable and worshipful) as oft as he putte on his robes to preach thus unto himself: Consider wel, Pericles, what thou dost: thou commaundest free men; the Greeks obey thee, and thou governest the citizens of Athens. If you say not so much to your selves, the gownes that you weare as the cognisances of authority, and the sword which is caried befor you as the instrument of justice, are of sufficient force to put you in mind, that you are the masters of free men, that you governe the worshipfull citizens of London, and that you are the verye Stewards of her Majestie within your liberties.

Therefore, sith by my owne experience I have erected a Schoole of those abuses which I have seene in London, I presume the more uppon your pardon, at the ende of my pamphlet to present a few lines to your honourable reading.

Augustus, the good Emperour of Rome, was never angry with accusers, because hee thought it necessary (where many abuses flourish) for every man freely to speake his minde. And I hope that Augustus (I meane suche as are in authoritie) will beare with mee, because I touch that whiche is needefull to be shoven. Wherein I goe not about to instruct you how to rule, but to warne you what danger hangs over your heads, that you may avoyde it.

The birde Trochilus with crashing of her bil awakes the crocodile, and delivereth her from her enemyes that are readye to charge her in dead sleepe. A little fishe swimmeth

continually before the great whale to shewe him the shelves, that he run not a ground. The elephants, when any of their kinde are fallen into the pittes that are made to catch them, thrust in stones and earth to recover them. When the lyon is caught in a trappe, Æsop's mouse, by nibling the cordes, sets him at libertie. It shall be inough for me with Trochilus to have wagged my bil; with the little fish to have gone before you; with the elephants to have showed you the way to helpe your selves; and with Æsop's mouse to have fretted the snares with a byting tooth for your owne safetie.

The Thracians, when they must passe over frozen streames, sende out their wolves, which, laying their eares to the yse, listen for noyse: if they heare any thing, they gather that it mooves: if it moove, it is not congealed; if it be not congealed, it must be liquide: if it be liquide, then will it yeelde; and if it yeelde, it is not good trusting it with the weight of their bodyes, leste they sinke. The worlde is so slipperie that you are often enforced to passe over yse: therefore, I humbly beseech you to try farther and trust lesse: not your woolves, but many of your citizens have alredy sifted the danger of your passage, and in sifting been swallowed to their discredit.

I would the abuses of my Schoole were as wel knowne of you to reformation, as they are found out by other to their owne peril. But the fish Sepia can trouble the water to shun the nets that are shot to catch her: Torpedo hath crafte enough at the first touch to enchant the hooke, to conjure the line, to bewitch the rod, and to benoom the hands of him that angleth. Whether our players be the spawnes of such fishes, I knowe not wel; yet I am sure that how many nets soever there be laid to take them, or hooks to choke them, they have ynke in their bowels to darken the water, and sleights in their budgettes to dry up the arme of every magistrate. If their letters of commendations were once stayed, it were easie for you to overthrow them. Agesilaus was greatly rebuked, because in matters of justice he enclined to his friends, and

became parcial: Plutarch condemneth this kind of writing *Niciam, si nihil admisit noxa, exime; si quid admisit, mihi exime; omnino autem hominem noxæ exime*. If Nicias have not offended, meddle not with him: if hee bee guyltie, forgyve him for my sake; whatsoever you doe, I charge you acquite him. This enforceth magistrates, like evill poets, to breake the feete of theyr verse and sing out of tune, and with unskilful carpenters to use the square and the compasse, the rule and the quadrant, not to build, but to overthrowe.

Bona verba quæso. Some saye that it is not good jesting with edge tooles. The Athenians will mince Phocion as smal as fleshe to pot, if they be mad, but kil Demades if they be sober; and I doubte not but the governours of London will vexe mee for speaking my minde, when they are out of their wittes, and banishe their players when they are best advised.

In the meane time it behooveth your Honour in your charge to playe the musition: stretch every string till hee breake, but set him in order. He that wil have the lampe to burne cleere, must as well poure in oyle to nourish the flame, as snuffe the weeke to increase the light. If your Honour desire to see the Citie well governed, you must as well set to your hand to thrust out abuses, as shoue your selfe willing to have all amended. And (lest I seeme one of those idle mates, which having nothing to buy at home, and lesse to sell in the market abroad, stand at a booth if it be but to gase, or wanting worke in mine owne study, and having no witte to governe citties, yet busye my braynes with your honourable office) I wil heere end, desiring pardon for my fault, because I am rashe, and redresse of abuses because they are nought.

Your Honors &c. to commaunde

STEPHAN GOSSON.

To the Gentlewomen, Citizens
of London, flourishing
dayes, with regarde
of credite.

The reverence that I owe you, Gentlewomen, because you are citizens, and the pitie wherwith I tender your case, because you are weake, hath thrust out my hand, at the breaking up of my Schoole, to write a few lines to your sweete selves. Not that I thinke you to bee rebuked as idle huswives, but commended and incouraged as vertuous dames. The freest horse at the whiske of a wand gyrdes forward: the swiftest hound, when he is hallowed, strippes forth: the kindest mastife, when he is clapped on the backe, fighteth best: the stoutest souldier, when the trumpet sounds, strikes fiercest: the gallantest runner, when the people showte, getteth ground, and the perfectest livers, when they are praysed, winne greatest credite.

I have seene many of you whiche were wont to sporte your selves at Theaters, when you perceived the abuse of those places, schoole your selves, and of your owne accord abhorre playes. And sith you have begun to withdrawe your steppes, continew so still, if you bee chary of your good name; for this is generall, that they which shew themselves openly desyre to be seene. It is not a softe shooe that healeth the gowte; nor a golden ring that driveth away the crampe; nor a crowne of pearle that cureth the meigrim; nor your sober countenance that defendeth your credite; nor your freindes which accompany your person that excuse your folly; nor your modesty at home that covereth your lightnesse, if you present your selves in open Theaters. Thought is free: you can forbydd no man that vieweth you to note you, and that noateth you to judge you for entring to places of suspition: wild coultes, when they see their kind, begine to bray, and lusty

bloods at the shewe of faire women give a wantone sigh or a wicked wishe. Blasing markes are most shot at ; glistring faces chiefly marked ; and what followeth ? Looking eies have lyking hartes ; lyking hartes may burne in lust. We walke in the sun many times for pleasure, but our faces are tanned before wee returne : though you go to Theaters to see sport, Cupid may cache you ere you departe. The little god hovereth aboute you, and fanneth you with his wings to kindle fire : when you are set as fixed whites, Desire draweth his arrow to the head, and sticketh it uppe to the fethers, and Fancy bestireth him to shed his poyson through every vayne. If you doe but listen to the voyce of the fouler, or joyne lookes with an amorous gazer, you have already made your selves assaultable, and yeelded your citie to be sacked. A wanton eye is the darte of Cephalus : where it leveleth, there it lighteth, and where it hitti it woundeth deepe. If you give but a glaunce to your beholders, you have vayled the bonnet in token of obedience ; for the boulte is fallen ere the ayre clap, the bullet paste ere the peece cracke, the colde taken ere the body shiver, and the match made ere you strike handes.

To avoyde this discommoditie Cyrus refused to looke upon Panthea, and Alexander the Great on Darius wife. The sicke man that relesheth nothing, when hee seeth some aboute him feede a pace, and commend the taste of those dishes which hee refused, blames not the meate, but his owne disease ; and I feare you will say that it is no rype judgement, but a rawe humor in my selfe, which makes me condemne the resorting to playes ; because there come many thyther which in your opinion sucke no poyson, but feede hartely without hurt ; therefore, I doe very ill to reject that which other like, and complayne stil of mine owne maladie.

In deede, I must confesse, there comes to playes of al sortes, old and young : it is hard to saye that all offend, yet, I promise you, I wil sweare for none ; for the dryest flax flameth soonest, and the greenest wood smoketh moste : gray heads

have greene thoughts, and young slipps are old twiggcs. Beware of those places which in sorrowe cheere you, and beguile you in mirth. You must not cut your bodyes to your garmentes, but make your gownes fit to the proportion of your bodies; nor fashion yourselves to open spectacles, but tye all your sportes to the good disposition of a vertuous minde. At Diceplay every one wisheth to caste well: at bowles every one craves to kisse the maister: at running every one starteth to winne the goale: at shooting every one strives to hit the marke; and will not you in all your pastimes and recreations seeke that which shall yeelde you most profite, and greatest credite? I will not say you are made to toyle, and I dare not graunt that you should be idle; but if there be peace in your houses, and plentie in your cofers, let the good precept of Xenophon be your exercise in all your ease and prosperitie: remember God that hee may be mindfull of you when your hartes grone, and succore you still in the time of neede. Be ever busied in godly meditations: seeke not to passe over the gulf with a tottering plank that will deceive you. When we cast off our best clothes, we put on ragges: when our good desiers are once laide aside, wanton wil begines to pricke. Being pensive at home, if you go to Theaters to drive away fancies, it is as good phisicke as for the ache of your head to knocke out your brains, or when you are stung with a waspe to rub the sore with a nettle. When you are greeved, passe the time with your neighbours in sober conference, or if you canne reade, let bookes bee your comforte. Doe not imitate those foolishe patientes, which having sought all meanes of recovery and are never the neere, run unto witchcraft. If your greefe be such that you may not disclose it, and your sorrowe so great that you loth to utter it, looke for so salve at playes or Theaters, lest that laboring to shun Silla you light on Charibdis; to forsake the depe, you perish in sands; to warde a light stripe, you take a deathes wound, and to leave phisike you flee to inchaunting.

You neede not goe abroade to bee tempted : you shall bee intised at your owne windowes. The best counsell that I can give you is to keepe at home, and shun all occasion of ill speech. The virgins of Vesta were shut up fast in stone walles to the same end. You must keepe your sweete faces from scorching in the sun, chapping in the winde, and warping in the weather, which is best perfourmed by staying within ; and if you perceive your selves in any danger at your owne doores, either allured by curtesie in the day, or assaulted with musike in the night, close uppe your eyes, stoppe your eares, tye up your tongues : when they speake, answeare not ; when they hallowe, stoope not ; when they sigh, laugh at them ; when they sue, scorne them. Shunne their company : never be seene where they resort ; so shall you neither set them proppes when they seeke to climbe, nor holde them the stirrope when they proffer to mount.

These are harde lessons which I teache you : neverthelesse, drinke uppe the potion, though it like not your tast, and you shal be eased : resist not the surgeon, though hee strike with his knife, and you shall bee cured. The fig tree is sower, but it yeeldeth sweete fruite : thymus is bitter, but it giveth honny : my Schoole is tarte, but my counsell is pleasant, if you imbrace it. Shortly I hope to send out the discourses of my Phyalo, by whom (if I see you accept this) I will give you one dish for your own tooth.

Farewel.

Yours to serve at vertues call,

STEPHAN GOSSON.

NOTES.

Page 3, line 27. Homer's Iliades in a nutte shell.] A curious instance of the literal completion of such an undertaking has recently come to light, in a copy of Peele's "Tale of Troy," printed in 1604, in a minute volume about an inch and a half tall, by an inch broad. The text varies slightly from that of the edition of 1589, 4to; and the title-page of this literary curiosity runs thus: "The Tale of Troy. By G. Peele, M. of Artes in Oxford. Printed by A. H. 1604." The colophon is as follows: "London. Printed by Arnold Hatfield dwelling in Eliot's court in the Little old, Baylie. And are to be sold by Nicholas Ling. 1604." It goes as far in the signatures as Q 6, in eights.

Page 12, line 5. Drummes entertainment.] See note to "All's well that ends well." A. III. Sc. 6. Malone's Shakespeare by Boswell, x. 417.

Page 19, line 1. Bringing sweet comfortes into Theaters.] Probably we ought to read "sweet *consortes*," in reference to the music introduced into play-houses. It stands *comfortes* in the original edit.

Page 23, line 3. The shaking of the sheetes *with* Domitia.] The old copy reads, by a misprint, "*which* Domitia."

Page 28, line 11. Sounded *with* lead.] Again, in the original, we have *which* printed for *with*.

Page 29, line 15. Set downe the limits of apparel to every degree.] See in "the Egerton Papers," printed by the Camden Society, p. 247, one of Queen Elizabeth's Proclamations for this purpose printed at large.

Page 30, line 4. The Jew.] Most likely a play on the same story as that of "the Merchant of Venice."

Page 38, line 12. If our gallantes of Englande might carry no more linkes in their chaynes.] The custom of wearing gold chains by gentlemen, or by those who affected to be such, is often mentioned by later writers. The Lord Mayor and Aldermen of London continue to carry them; and the practice, with the excuse of its being a watch-guard, has recently been revived.

Page 46. Letters of commendations.] The allusion here is to the letters of protection, which noblemen were in the habit of granting to players who acted or travelled under their names. One of the earliest is that of Sir R. Dudley to Lord Shrewsbury, dated June, 1559, printed in the Hist. of Engl. Dram. Poetry and the Stage, i. 170.

Page 51, line 28. Shortly I hope to send out the discourses of my Phyallo.] In the edition of 1587, Gosson calls the work "the Ephemerides of Phialo." It was printed with the same date as the earliest edition of the Schoole of Abuse, 1579, and contains a "short apology" for that work, which had been attacked in print in the interval between the publication of the Schoole of Abuse, and the appearance of the Ephemerides of Phialo.

AN
APOLOGY FOR ACTORS.

IN THREE BOOKS.

BY
THOMAS HEYWOOD.

FROM THE EDITION OF 1612, COMPARED WITH THAT OF
W. CARTWRIGHT.

WITH AN INTRODUCTION AND NOTES.



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INTRODUCTION.

IN the cursory sketch of the various publications for and against the Stage, between the years 1578 and 1633, which precedes our reprint of Gosson's "School of Abuse," we had occasion to mention Thomas Heywood's "Apology for Actors." It is not only the most complete, but the latest regular defence of the profession, prior to the closing of the theatres on the breaking out of the Civil War. There was a pause in the literary contest subsequent to the appearance of Dr. Rainolde's "Overthrow of Stage Plays," 1599, (some copies bear the date of "Middleburgh, 1600,") and the immediate motive for the publication of Heywood's "Apology for Actors" in 1612 is not stated in the tract itself, nor elsewhere. Sir Edward Coke, indeed, in his "Charge at Norwich" in 1607, (printed by N. Butter in that year) had complained of the manner and degree in which "the country was troubled with stage-players," and denounced them from the bench; but his reference was to actors in the provinces, who had no "commission" from the crown, nor license under the hands of any of the nobility; and it may be asserted that for some years before Heywood's "Apology" came out,

the theatres of the metropolis had been flourishing and unmolested, and had enjoyed peculiar patronage from the crown.

It was, possibly, this very state of affairs which induced Heywood to put forth his tract: the Puritans were silent, actors were prosperous, the court was favourable, and a general vindication of the profession of the Stage, as an excuse for the public and private encouragement it received, would not be unwelcome at such a juncture.

We have it on his own evidence in his "Pleasant Dialogues and Dramas," 8vo., 1637, that Heywood was a native of Lincolnshire. In the succeeding tract he notices "the time of his residence at Cambridge," and William Cartwright, (of whom we shall speak hereafter, and who reprinted "The Apology for Actors" just before the Restoration) asserts that Heywood was "a fellow of Peter House." This statement is probably correct, and nearly all his extant works display like that before us, extensive general reading, and considerable classical attainments. In what year Heywood came to London we have no account; but on the 14th of October, 1596, a person, whose name Henslowe spells Hawode, had written "a book," or play, for the Lord Admiral's Company. On the 25th of March, 1598, we find Thomas Heywood regularly engaged by Henslowe as a player and a sharer in the company, but not as "a hireling," or mere theatrical servant receiving wages, as Malone mistakenly asserted. (Shakespeare by Boswell, III., 321). From this date, at all events, until the death of Queen Anne, the wife of James I.,

Heywood continued on the stage ; for in the account of the persons who attended her funeral he is introduced as “ one of her majesty’s players.” He wrote an ode upon her death, but he did not print it until five years afterwards as part of a much larger volume. After quitting the Lord Admiral’s Company, on the accession of James I., Heywood became one of the theatrical servants of the Earl of Worcester, and was by that nobleman transferred to the queen. “ I was, my lord,” (says Heywood in the dedication to the Earl of Worcester of his “ Nine Books of various History concerning Women,” fo. 1624) “ your creature, and amongst other your servants, you bestowed me upon the excellent princesse Q. Anne, * * * * but by her lamented death your gift is returned againe into your hands.”

Between 1596 and 1638, he was a most voluminous playwright. When he published his “ English Traveller,” in 1633, he stated in a preliminary epistle, that he had written the whole, or parts of no fewer than two hundred and twenty dramatic pieces ; of which, however, not more than twenty-three passed through the press. In the address “ to the judicial reader,” prefixed to his “ Apology for Actors,” 1612, he observes, “ my pen hath seldome appeared in the presse till now ;” but this assertion must be taken with some qualification, and with reference, perhaps, to the many works which he had written, and which up to that year had not been printed. His earliest known work with a date is his “ Edward the Fourth,” a play in two parts, which was originally published in 1600. In 1605, another play

by him, called "If you know not me, you know Nobody, or the Troubles of Queen Elizabeth," was printed: the second part of the same piece came out in 1606. His "Fair Maid of the Exchange" and his "Woman killed with Kindness" appeared in 1607, and his "Rape of Lucrece" in 1608. These were dramatic works; but in 1608 he put forth a translation of Salust, with a long and laboured preface "Of the choice of History;" and in 1609 appeared a heroic poem in stanzas, under the title of "Great Britains Troy." His "Golden Age," a play, was printed the very year before his "Apology for Actors." Thus we see that his "pen had appeared in the press" nine times before he wrote in 1612.

In the same spirit of allowance we must, probably, receive another of Heywood's statements, in the course of the work now presented to the Members of the Shakespeare Society:—we allude to what he says on page 16, that he is "the youngest and weakest of the nest wherein he was hatched." In 1612 he had been, at least, fourteen years on the stage, and must have been more than thirty years old. That there were many older, as well as better actors, then living, we need entertain no doubt; and these he must have had in his mind when he used the expression we have above quoted.

No complete list has ever yet been formed of Heywood's different productions, dramatic and undramatic, in verse and in prose. Reed attempted it in the edition of "Dodsley's Old Plays," printed in 1780, and made several blunders, such as attributing works by

Munday, Chettle, and Drue, to him; but much information has, of late years, been procured from sources with which Reed was not acquainted. The Shakespeare Society is preparing to print the most curious and valuable of these sources, "Henslowe's Diary," which relates to theatrical transactions in London for seventeen years subsequent to the spring of 1591. When it is published it will be seen that Heywood was engaged upon several plays, regarding which we have no other information. Until then it would be useless to attempt any exact enumeration of the varied and interesting productions of his pen. For their rarity, perhaps, we may notice his "Marriage Triumph," 1613, on the union between the Prince Palatine and the Princess Elizabeth; and his "Elegy on the Death of James I., 1625. In the last he informs us that, at one time (the date is not given) he had been the theatrical servant of the Earl of Southampton, the patron of Shakespeare. Heywood also wrote all the known pageants for Lord Mayor's Day, between 1630 and 1640, when they ceased for some years to be exhibited.

We know nothing of the later incidents of his life beyond those furnished by the publication of his many works, the last, perhaps, being "The Life of Ambrosius Merlin," which came out in 1641. In that year he is mentioned in some verses inserted in "Wit's Recreations," having reference principally to his "Hierarchy of the Blessed Angels," which had appeared in 1635. When he published that collection of his minor pieces, called "Pleasant Dialogues and Dramas," in 1637, he was evidently in considerable

pecuniary distress, and he seems to have sustained a long contest with poverty, not terminated until his decease. In 1648, in the "Satire against Separatists," he is spoken of as if he were still alive; and this seems to be the last trace of him. If he died in that year, he just outlived the issue of the notorious "Ordinance of the Lords and Commons assembled in Parliament," for the entire suppression of theatrical amusements.

William Cartwright's republication of Heywood's "Apology for Actors," shortly prior to the Restoration, has been already noticed. That republication has no date; but the late Mr. Douce, whose evidence on such a point is generally to be taken as conclusive, in his "Illustrations of Shakespeare," I., p. 300, tells us that it was printed in 1658. Cartwright was at this period a bookseller; but he did not intend that Heywood's tract should appear to be a mere reprint: he therefore altered the title of it, and called it "The Actor's Vindication;" and in the dedication to the Marquess of Dorchester, he states that the author had written it "not long before his death." The object was to give the work a more modern air, and greater weight of authority, than it would have possessed had Cartwright stated that it originally came out forty-six years before he revived it. For the same reason he modernized the style in several respects, gave only the initials of the "friends and fellows" of Heywood, who in 1612 had signed their laudatory lines at length, and inserted a passage in praise of Edward Alleyn, and speaking of him as dead, which Heywood could not have written

in 1612, because the subject of the eulogium did not die until fourteen years afterwards.

“ Among so many dead,” says Heywood, “ let me not forget one yet alive, in his time the most worthy, famous Maister Edward Alleyn ;” to which, in 1658, Cartwright, omitting “ one yet alive,” added as follows : — “ who, in his lifetime, erected a College at Dulwich for poor people, and for education of youth. When this College was finished, this famous man was so equally mingled with humility and charity, that he became his own pensioner, humbly submitting himself to that proportion of diet and clothes which he had bestowed on others, and afterwards was interred in the same College.” The expression by Heywood, in 1612, that Alleyn, “ in his time,” was “ the most worthy,” shews that he certainly had retired from the stage before that year.

An actor, of the name of William Cartwright, belonged, in 1613, to an Association of Players with which Henslowe was connected ; and, as has been shown in the “ Memoirs of Edward Alleyn,” p. 153, he was often one of the guests of the Founder of Dulwich College between the years 1617 and 1622. He was in all likelihood the father of the William Cartwright who, just before dramatic performances were recommenced, but while the theatres were still closed, was a bookseller, but who had no doubt been an actor prior to the breaking out of the Civil War, and certainly was so for many years after the Restoration. Downes frequently introduces his name in his *Roscius Anglicanus*, 1708, as one of the King’s Company, as-

sembled immediately on the return of Charles II. He was Corbachio in "Volpone," Morose in "Epicœne," Mammon in "the Alchemist," Brabantio in "Othello," and Falstaff in the first part of "Henry the Fourth," besides filling many other parts in modern plays. He continued on the stage after the union of the King's and the Duke's Companies in 1682, and died in 1687, leaving his books, pictures, &c., to Dulwich College, where his father had been so often hospitably received, and of the benefits of which institution he must himself have been a witness.

At the time of his death two persons, named Francis and Jane Johnson, husband and wife, lived with Cartwright as servants, and had done so for about seventeen years. They seem to have taken possession of all his personal property, including plate, pictures, books, and 490 broad pieces of gold. Proceedings in Chancery were accordingly instituted against them by the Master, Warden, Fellows, &c., of Dulwich College, about the year 1689, and Francis Johnson was thrown into prison, where he remained for two years. These facts, and some others of a singular nature, and quite new in the life of Cartwright, are contained in what forms the commencement of the answer of Francis and Jane Johnson to the bill filed by the College, preserved among the archives at Dulwich. The conclusion of the document is unfortunately lost, but that portion which remains seems to contain nearly all the particulars of the case, and we subjoin it as a curious relic relating to the biography of a very eminent performer, one of the

last disciples in what may be termed the School of Shakespeare.

“ The joint and several Answers of Francis Johnson and Jane his wife, Defendants to the Bill of Complaint of the Master, Warden, Fellows, six poor Brethren and six poor Sisters and twelve poor Scholars of Dulwich College, otherwise called the College of God's Gift, within the parish of Camberwell in the county of Surry, Complainants.

“ The said Defts and either of them, saving and reserving to each other all due benefit and advantage of exceptions to the incertainties and insufficiencies of the Complainants bill of complaint, for answer thereto, or so much thereof as concerns them or either of them to make answer unto, they answer and say as followeth—And first this Deft Francis Johnson for his part saith that he cannot more fully or particularly make answer to any the matters or charges of the Comp^{ts} bill laid to his charge, then within and by his former answer by him put in thereto is already set forth and expressed; for he saith that he did not intermeddle with any part of the personal estate of William Cartwright deceased, in the bill named, otherwise then is hereinafter set forth in his this Defts wife's answer, she being the only person generally entrusted by the said Mr. Cartwright to look after and take care of his concernes at home. And this Deft was employed as his servant to look after his affairs in their Ma^{ties} playhouse and to receive his, the said M^r Cartwright's, allowance out of the profits of the said playhouse, he being one of the Players there, and to pay the same unto him, which he accordingly did for about the space of 17 years that he lived with him as his servant, and was by agreement to have had from his said Master an allowance of £15 per Annum during the time he lived with him; but saith there was about 5 years arrears of the said allowance due to this Deft at the time of the decease of the said William Cartwright. And the said Jane Johnson for her part saith, that the said William Cartwright departed this life about the middle of December, 1687, being then possessed of divers goods, household stuff and other personal estate, which he had in the house wherein he died situate in or near Lincolns Inn Fields in the County of Middx hereinafter mentioned. And

farther saith that in or about the month of January then next, that the Sheriffs officers of the said County, by virtue of some authority, as they alleged, and by the directions of the Comp^{ts} as this Deft hath been credibly informed [did] seize and take away, not only most of the goods in the said house (save what is hereinafter mentioned) and carried them away and never returned the same, but also took and carried away divers goods and apparels of these Defts which are hereafter named, vizt. some new linen cloth, some part thereof being cut out for divers uses, both which, as well the cut as otherwise, they took away, being of the value of £5 and upwards, as also divers wearing apparel of her, this Deft and her said husband, worth about £10; and did also take away two beds, a fine fleeced wool blanket and two large chests, together with a trunk and box both full of linen, as likewise a jack, fire irons, andyrans, tongs and fireshovel, as also a roasting iron, several joint stools, a large Indian bason and jug, with divers other things, and the which goods were never appraised by the said officers nor ever returned again to these Defts, nor to any other person or persons for their use, or any recompence or satisfaction for the same. And as to the goods of M^r Cartwright which came to this Defts possession, and were by her disposed of, and which are all the goods of him and that he died possessed of that ever came to the custody of this Deft or her said husband to her knowledge or belief, or into the hands custody or power of any other person or persons for their or either of their use or uses, which are as followeth, viz two silver tankards, gilt, which she pawned for £4 a piece, and which were disposed of by the Pawnbroker, in regard the money lent thereupon, and the interest demanded, did amount, as the Pawnbroker pretended, to the intrinsic value of the said plate: one small amber box or cabinet which this Deft did pawn for 40s. and believes it is not worth much more: six books of prints which she sold for £3: six volumes of play books, which she sold for 20s.: several small pictures which she sold for 15s.: a Turkey carpet which she sold for about 13 or 14s.: a pair of old decayed brass candlesticks and brass fire irons sold at 6s. 8d. And this Deft doth verily believe in her conscience, and is well assured that there was no other or further benefit made of the said goods in any manner of way whatsoever than before mentioned. And this Deft confesseth that

there came to her hands and custody 490 broad pieces of the gold of the said M^r Cartwright, out of which this Deft paid for the burying of the said M^r Cartwright about the sum of £33 : paid for rent arrear owing by him £5 10s. 0 : paid M^r Austin the victualler for a score of beer and ale £4 12s. 0*d.* : paid to his milkwoman £1 19s. 3*d.* : paid for his score at the Tavern £1 2s. 0*d.* or thereabouts : paid his washerwoman a guinea. And further this Deft saith that she and her said husband did constantly live with the said M^r Cartwright as his servants for the space of 17 years and upwards, during all which time he did agree to allow unto this Defts said husband at the rate of £15 per ann. as is hereinbefore specified. And this Deft doth verily believe that there was 4 or 5 years arrears of wages due to her said husband at the time of the death of their said Master ; and likewise saith that the said M^r Cartwright did agree to give and allow unto her this Deft the sum of £10 per ann. for 12 of the 17 years, and to allow her £13 pounds for the last 5 years, in regard this Deft during the said 5 years undertook all the work of the house without an under servant, which before that time had been kept ; but yet this Deft could never receive any money from him or other satisfaction for her said wages during all his life time ; and saith that her whole wages for the said 17 years was wholly unsatisfied to her at the time of M^r Cartwright's death, and [he] did from time to time excuse the payment thereof, pretending that he would when he died leave all his estate to this Deft and her said husband, withall declaring that he kept nothing from this Deft, and that she had all or most of his estate in her hands and power, and what would she desire more of him, or words to that or the like purpose : and he by such insinuations and promises did from time to time keep off this Deft from receiving any part of her wages, notwithstanding she was a continual slave to him and seldom suffered to go abroad, for that when he was at home he required the Deft to give him diligent and constant attendance there, being aged and often infirm, and when he was abroad he would not trust any person in his house besides this Deft, by reason of which confinement this Deft could not have time for near 17 years together to go to Church to serve God. By all which it is very manifest that this Deft had a very uncomfortable living during all her service with her said Master, whenas when she was prevailed with to come and

live with him as his housekeeper, she was in a good way of living, using the trade of a button maker, by which she did make considerable profit. And this Deft moreover saith that her said Master, towards part of satisfaction of the kindness intended her, this Deft, and her said husband for all the service and slavery aforesaid, did some time in his life time execute some deed in writing, whereby he did (as these Defts are advised) settle the sum of £16 per ann., chargeable by way of annuity or rent charge out of some houses in or about the city of London, to be payable to this Deft and her said husband during their lives and the life of the longer liver of them; and they did accordingly receive the said rent for some small time after the death of her said Master, and until about Midsummer 1689, at or about which time the Compl^{ts} did (as this Deft is informed) obtain some order of this honourable Court whereby to restrain this Deft and her said husband from further receiving the said rent of £16 per Ann: but for what reason, and whether the said order be still in force or not, this Deft knoweth not. And matters thus standing, and there having been very hot prosecutions in this honourable Court and elsewhere against her and her said husband by the Compl^{ts}, and they having caused him to be imprisoned did remaine a prisoner for about the space of two years. And this Deft saith that a great number of the said broad pieces were expended in paying the debts aforesaid of her said Master, and in defending of the suite aforesaid, as also in maintaining her husband in prison during the time aforesaid and procuring his enlargement, and likewise in maintaining these Defts with meat and drink and other necessaries ever since the payment of the said annuity hath been kept from them, being about 4 years and an half since. And this Deft further likewise saith that some yeares since, she finding that all the said broad pieces (except 140) were by the means aforesaid spent and consumed, she did deposite the same in the hands of one M^r Nicholas Archibold, her counsell, desiring that he would treat with the said Compl^{ts}, and endeavour to persuade them (having consideration to these Defts payments, troubles and expenses aforesaid) to accept of the said 140 pieces in full satisfaction for all such part of the several estate of her said Master as came into these Defts hands, or used words to that purpose; and her said Counsell did upon reception of

the said pieces promise so to do, but having once got possession thereof, he did still put this Deft off with some pretence or other, and so still neglected to proceed therein and did"—[*cætera desunt*].

The precise result of this suit in Chancery does not appear from any document we have been able to consult, but it is certain that Dulwich College obtained most of the books and pictures which had belonged to Cartwright: the latter have, we believe, been preserved, the most valuable being the portraits of Burbage, Field, Bond, Cartwright, and some others of the same class; but the books, consisting mainly of old plays (such probably as the six volumes mentioned in the preceding Answer, which Mrs. Johnson sold for 20s.) have almost entirely disappeared. The late Mr. Malone was lucky enough to induce the Master, Warden, and Fellows to exchange the old Plays for old Sermons, and the old Plays now form the bulk of the Commentator's collection at Oxford. One of the books left by Cartwright to the College, and still preserved in the library, is a copy of his republication of Heywood's "Apology for Actors."

Among other remarkable points adverted to in that work is one which has of late attracted considerable attention, in consequence chiefly of a very interesting and ingenious letter from Mr. W. J. Thoms to Mr. Amyot, the Treasurer of the Society of Antiquaries, published in the New Monthly Magazine for January, 1841. Professor Tieck, of Dresden, first started the notion that a company of English Players, having found their way into Germany, performed English plays in different towns, which never were printed excepting in

German versions. Heywood's "Apology for Actors" puts the matter beyond doubt, that several companies of performers from this country were retained on the continent, under royal and noble patronage, late in the sixteenth, and early in the seventeenth centuries. It is not necessary here to enter into particulars, because they will be found inserted hereafter. We only allude to them as a singular confirmation of a modern theory; and Mr. Thoms has undertaken to furnish the Shakespeare Society with translations of four German Dramas, taken, as he supposes, from old English plays not now known to exist, but which Shakespeare employed more or less in the composition of some of his works.

We have evidence that Heywood was for many years engaged upon a collection of the Lives of Poets of his own day and country, as well as of other times and nations. It would of course have included Shakespeare, and his dramatic predecessors and contemporaries; and it is possible that the MS., or part of it, may yet lurk in some unexplored receptacle. Richard Brathwayte, in his "Scholars' Medley," 1614, gave the earliest information of Heywood's intention to make "a description of all Poets' lives;" and, ten years afterwards, in his "Nine Books of various History concerning Women," Heywood himself tells us that the title of his projected work would be "The Lives of all the Poets, modern and foreign." It was still in progress in 1635, when "the Hierarchy of the Blessed Angels" came out, on p. 245 of which work we meet with the following passage:—"In proceeding farther I might have forestalled a work, which hereafter (I hope) by God's

assistance to commit to the public view; namely, the Lives of all the Poets, foreign and modern, from the first before Homer, to the *novissimi* and last, of what nation or language soever."

The manner in which he would probably have treated the subject makes us still more regret the loss of his collection of the Lives of the Poets; and we may judge of that manner from the terms in which he speaks of his great contemporaries in the body of the work just quoted, p. 206. What he says of them affords a curious proof of the kindly and familiar footing on which they lived with each other, and, as the passage is little known, we shall venture to quote the whole of it.

"Greene, who had in both Academies ta'ne
Degree of Master, yet could never gaine
To be call'd more than *Robin*; who, had he
Profest aught save the Muse, serv'd and been free
After a seven-yeares' prenticeship, might have
(With credit too) gone Robert to his grave.
Marlo, renowned for his rare art and wit,
Could ne're attaine beyond the name of *Kit*,
Although his Hero and Leander did
Merit addition rather. Famous Kid
Was called but *Tom*: *Tom* Watson, though he wrote
Able to make Apollo's selfe to dote
Upon his Muse, for all that he could strive,
Yet never could to his full name arrive.
Tom Nash (in his time of no small esteeme)
Could not a second syllable redeeme.
Excellent Bewmont, in the foremost ranke
Of the rar'st wits, was never more than *Franck*.
Mellifluous Shakespeare, whose inchanting quill
Commanded mirth or passion, was but *Will*;

And famous Johnson, though his learned pen
Be dipt in Castaly, is still but *Ben*.
Fletcher add Webster, of that learned packe
None of the mean'st, yet neither was but *Jacke*.
Dekker's but *Tom* ; nor May nor Middleton ;
And hee's now but *Jacke* Foord that once was John."

We can figure to ourselves no higher prize, of a literary kind, than the discovery of the MS. of the lives of such men by such a man, who would probably have given us their great characteristics and individual peculiarities, and have dwelt with fond detail upon the scenes of their early and social intercourse. Let us hope that the labours and researches of the Shakespeare Society, and of those who are anxious to promote its objects, may hereafter bring some such materials to light.

AN
A P O L O G Y
FOR ACTORS.

Containing three briefe

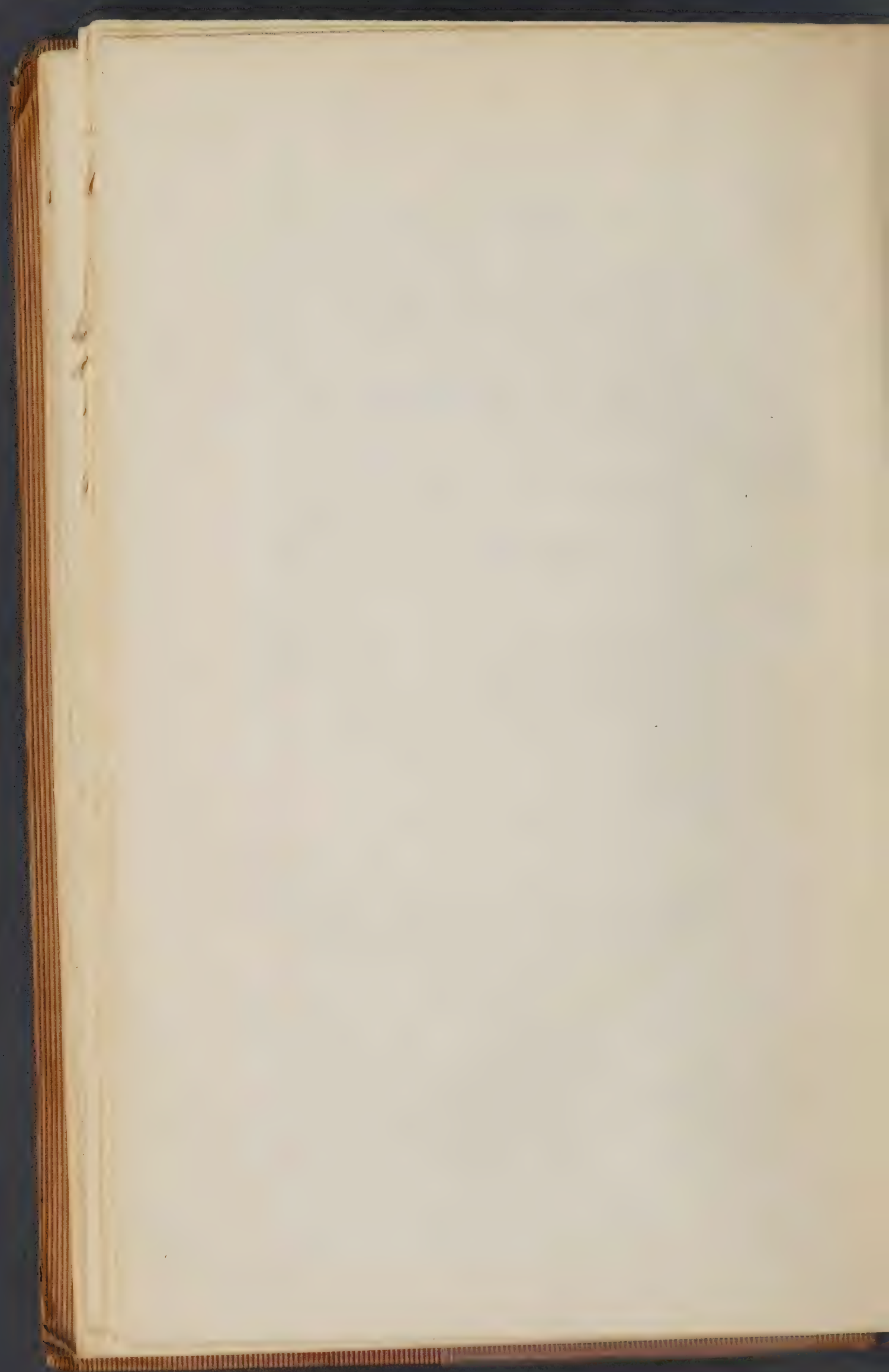
Treatises.

1. *Their Antiquity.*
2. *Their ancient Dignity.*
3. *The true use of their Quality.*

Written by Thomas Heywood.

Et prodesse solent et delectare—

LONDON:
Printed by *Nicholas Okes.*
1612.



To the Right Honourable Edward, Earle of
Worcester, Lord of Chepstoll, Ragland, and
Gower, Knight of the most Noble Order
of the Garter, Maister of the Horse,
and one of the King's most
Honourable Privy
Councel.

KNOWING all the vertues and endowments of nobility, which florisht in their height of eminence in your Ancestors, now, as by a divine legacy and lineall inheritance, to survive in you, and so consequently from you to your truly ennobled issue (Right Honourable), I presumed to publish this unworthy worke under your gracious patronage. First, as an acknowledgement of that duty I am bound to you in as a servant: next, assured that your most judiciall censure is as able to approve what therein is authentike and good, as your noble and accustomed modesty will charitably connive, if there be any thing therein unworthy your learned approbation. I have striv'd (my Lord) to make good a subject, which many through envy, but most through ignorance, have sought violently (and beyond merit) to oppugne; in which, if they have either wandred through spleene, or erred by non-knowledge, I have (to my power) plainly and freely illustrated; propounding a true, direct, and faithfull discourse, touching the antiquity, the ancient dignity, and the true use of Actors, and their quality. If my industry herein be by the common adversary harshly received, but by your Honour charitably censured, I have from the injudicious (whom I esteeme not) but what I expect, but from your Lordship (whom I ever reverence) more then I can merit.

Your Honour's humbly devoted,

THOMAS HEYWOOD.

To my good Friends and Fellowes
the Citty-Actors.

OUT of my busiest houres I have spared my selfe so much time, as to touch some particulars concerning us, to approve our antiquity, ancient dignity, and the true use of our quality. That it hath beene ancient, we have derived it from more then two thousand yeeres agoe successively to this age. That it hath beene esteemed by the best and greatest, to omit all the noble patrons of the former world, I need alledge no more then the royall and princely services in which we now live. That the use thereof is authentique, I have done my endeavour to instance by history, and approve by authority. To excuse my ignorance in affecting no flourish of eloquence to set a glosse upon my Treatise, I have nothing to say for my selfe but this:—a good face needs no painting, and a good cause no abetting. Some over-curious have too liberally taxed us; and hee (in my thoughts) is held worthy reproofe, whose ignorance cannot answeere for it selfe: I hold it more honest for the guiltlesse to excuse, then the envious to exclaime; and we may as freely (out of our plainnesse) answer, as they (out of their perverseness) object, instancing my selfe by famous Scaliger, learned Doctor Gager, Doctor Gentiles, and others, whose opinions and approved arguments on our part I have in my briefe discourse altogether omitted, because I am loath to bee taxed in borrowing from others; and besides, their workes, being extant to the world, offer themselves freely to every man's perusall. I am profest adversary to none: I rather covet reconciliation then opposition, nor proceedes this my labour from any envy in me, but rather to shew them wherein they erre. So, wishing you judicall audiences, honest poets, and true gatherers, I commit you all to the fulnesse of your best wishes.

Your's ever,

T. H.

TO THE JUDICIALL READER.

I HAVE undertooke a subject (curteous reader) not of sufficient countenance to bolster it selfe by his owne strength, and therefore have charitably reached it my hand to support it against any succeeding adversary. I could willingly have committed this worke to some more able then my selfe, for the weaker the combatant, hee needeth the stronger armes; but in extremities I hold it better to weare rusty armour then to goe naked: yet if these weake habiliments of warre can but buckler it from part of the rude buffets of our adversaries, I shall hold my paines sufficiently guerdoned. My pen hath seldome appeared in presse till now: I have beene ever too jealous of mine owne weaknesse willingly to thrust into the presse; nor had I at this time, but that a kind of necessity enjoyned me to so sudden a businesse. I will neither shew my selfe over presumtuious in skorning thy favour, nor too importunate a beggar by too servilly intreating it. What thou art content to bestow upon my pains, I am content to accept: if good thoughts, they are all I desire: if good words, they are more then I deserve: if bad opinion, I am sorry I have incur'd it: if evil language, I know not how I have merited it: if any thing, I am pleased: if nothing, I am satisfied, contenting my selfe with this—I have done no more then (had I beene called to account) shewed what I could say in the defence of my owne quality.

Thine,

T. HEYWOOD.

Firma valent per se, nullumque Machaona quærunt.

Ἀπολογία τῶν πανηγυρῶν.

Τοῦτο βροτοῖσι μελεῖ μουσῶν περικαλλέα ὑμνεῖν
 Καὶ κλέα καὶ δ'ἀρετῆς; ἔραμαι μέγα; τὸν γὰρ ἀλιτρὸν
 Εὔρε Θεός; φιλικὸν μέλος ἀνθρώποισι πονηρὸν
 Φεῦγε, मिथेῖς τῶν κῶμα κακῶν· κωμῳδία δέξει
 Τὴν δὲ ὑποθήκην; μήτε καλ' ἔργα τραγῳδία κάρφει·
 Ἀγριὸς εἶ; καὶ ὁρᾷς, ὅτι φαῦλος ὅμως θ' ὑπερόπτης
 Βάλλετο, καὶ παραπόλλετο δ' ἐν μεγάλοισι θεάτροις·
 Ἀλλ' ἀγαθῶν αἰεὶ δυνάμεις καλεαὶ φερέονται.
 Εἰ φιλέης μούσας, φιλέειν δεῖ εὐρὰ θέατρα,
 Αἰσχρὰ διώκων· καιρὸν καὶ φίλον ἄνδρ' ἀπολέσσης,
 ΑΛ. Πρ'.

In laudem, nec Operis, nec Authoris.

Fallor? an hæc solis non solùm grata Theatris?
(Esse putes solis quanquam dictata Theatris)
Magna sed a sacro veniet tibi gratia Templo,
Parve Liber; proles haut infitianda parenti.
Plurimus hunc nactus librum de-plebe-Sacerdos
(Copia verborum cui sit, non copia rerum)
Materiæ tantum petet hinc; quantum nec in uno
Promere mense potest, nec in uno forsitan anno.
Da quemuis textum; balbâ de nare locutus,
Protinùs exclamat (nefanda piacula!) in urbe
(Proh dolor!) impietas nudatâ fronte vagatur!
Ecce librum (Fratres) damnando authore poëtâ:
Pejorem nec sol vidit, nec Vorstius ipse
Hæresiarcha valet componere: Quippe Theatri
Mentitas loquitur laudes (ó tempora), laudet
Idem si potis est, monachum, monachine cucullum.
Sacro quis laudes unquam nomenve Theatri
Repperit in CANONE? haud vllus. stolidissime, dogma
Non CANONEM sapit hoc igitur, sed Apocryphon. Inde
(Lymphatum attonito pectus tundente popello,
Et vacuum quassante caput mæstumque tuenti)
Sic multo raucùm crocilians sudore perorat;

*Quod non dant proceres dedit histrio : nempe benignam
Materiam declamandi, plebemque docendi.*

*Quis tamen hic mystes tragico qui fulmina ab ore
Torquet ? Num doctus ? Certé. Num metra Catonis
Quatuor edidicit, tolidem quoque commata Tullí.*

*Jejunamque catechesin pistoribus æquè
Sartoribusque piis scripsit. Liber utilis his, qui
Baptistam simulant vultu, Floralia vivunt :*

*Queisque supercilio brevior coma. Sed venerandos
Graios hic Latiosque patres exosus ad unum est ;
Et Canones damnans fit Apocryphus. Uritur intùs.*

*Laudibus ACTORIS multùm mordetur. Ab illo
Laude suâ fraudatur enim. Quis nescit ? Ini-
quum'st*

*(a) Hypocrita
propriè per-
sonatum his-
trionem de-
notat.*

*Præter se scripto laudetur (a) Hypocrita quisquam.
Fallor ? an hæc solis non solùm grata Theatris ?*

*Anonymus, sive.
pessimus omnium Poëta.*

To them that are opposite to this worke.

Cease your detracting tongues, contest no more,
Leave off for shame to wound the Actor's fame,
Seeke rather their wronged credit to restore ;
Your envy and detractions quite disclaime.

You that have termed their sports lascivious, vile,
Wishing good princes would them all exile,
See here this question to the full disputed ;
Heywood hath you, and all your proofes confuted.

Wouldst see an emperour and his counsell grave,
A noble souldier acted to the life,
A Romane tyrant, how he doth behave
Himselfe at home, abroad, in peace, in strife ?

Wouldst see what's love, what's hate, what's foule excesse,
 Or wouldst a traytor in his kind expresse?
 Our Stagerites can (by the poet's pen)
 Appeare to you to bee the selfe same men.

What though a sort for spight, or want of wit,
 Hate what the best allow, the most forbear,
 What exercise can you desire more fit
 Than stately stratagemes to see and heare?

What profit many may attaine by playes,
 To the most critticke eye this booke displaies
 Brave men, brave acts, being bravely acted too,
 Makes, as men see things done, desire to do.

Vid. Page 5.

And did it nothing, but in pleasing sort
 Keepe gallants from mispending of their time,
 It might suffice; yet here is nobler sport,
 Acts well contriv'd, good prose, and stately rime.

To call to church Campanus bells did make;
 Playes dice and drinke invite men to forsake:
 Their use being good, then use the Actors well,
 Since our's all other nation's farre excell.

AR. HOPTON.

To his beloved friend, Maister

THOMAS HEYWOD.

Sume superbiam quæsitam meritis.

I cannot, though you write in your owne cause,
 Say you deale partially; but must confesse,
 (What most men wil) you merit due applause,
 So worthily your worke becomes the presse.

And well our Actors may approve your paines,
For you give them authority to play,
Even whilst the hottest plague of envy raignes ;
Nor for this warrant shall they dearly pay.

What a full state of poets have you cited
To judge your cause ; and to our equal view
Faire monumentall theaters recited,
Whose ruines had bene ruin'd but for you !

Such men, who can in tune both raile and sing,
Shall, viewing this, either confesse 'tis good,
Or let their ignorance condemn the spring,
Because 'tis merry, and renewes our bloud.

Be, therefore, your owne iudgement your defence,
Which shall approve you better then my praise,
Whilst I, in right of sacred innocence,
Durst ore each guilded tombe this knowne truth raise :
Who dead would not be acted by their will,
It seemes such men have acted their lives ill.

By your friend,

JOHN WEBSTER.

To my loving friend and fellow,

THOMAS HEYWOOD.

Thou that do'st raile at me for seeing a play,
How wouldst thou have me spend my idle houres ?
Wouldst have me in a taverne drinke all day,
Melt in the sunne's heate, or walke out in showers ?

Gape at the Lottery from morne till even,
 To heare whose mottoes blankes have, and who prises?
 To hazzard all at dice (chance six or seven)
 To card or bowle? my humour this dispises.

But thou wilt answer: None of these I need,
 Yet my tir'd spirits must have recreation.
 What shall I doe that may retirement breed,
 Or how refresh my selfe, and in what fashion?

To drabbe, to game, to drinke, all these I hate:
 Many enormous things depend on these.
 My faculties truely to recreate
 With modest mirth, and my selfe best to please,

Give me a play, that no distaste can breed.
 Prove thou a spider, and from flowers sucke gall;
 I'le, like a bee, take hony from a weed;
 For I was never puritannicall.

I love no publicke soothers, private scorers,
 That raile 'gainst letchery, yet love a harlot:
 When I drinke, 'tis in sight, and not in corners;
 I am no open saint, and secret varlet.

Still, when I come to playes, I love to sit
 That all may see me in a publike place,
 Even in the stages front, and not to git
 Into a nooke, and hood-winke there my face.

*This is the difference: such would have men deeme
 Them what they are not; I am what I seeme.*

RICH. PERKINS.

To my good friend and fellow,
THOMAS HEYWOOD.

Let others taske things honest, and to please
Some that pretend more strictnesse then the rest,
Exclaime on playes, know I am none of these
That in-ly love what out-ly I detest.
Of all the modern pastimes I can finde
To content me, of playes I make best use,
As most agreeing with a generous minde :
There see I vertues crowne, and sinnes abuse.
Two houres well spent, and all their pastimes done,
What's good I follow, and what's bad I shun.

CHRISTOPHER BEESTON.

To my good friend and fellow,
THOMAS HEYWOOD.

Have I not knowne a man, that to be hyr'd
Would not for any treasure see a play,
Reele from a taverne? Shall this be admir'd,
When as another, but the t'other day,
That held to weare a surplesse most unmeet,
Yet after stood at Paul's-crosse in a sheet.

ROBERT PALLANT.

To my approved good friend
M. THOMAS HEYWOOD.

Of thee, and thy Apology for playes,
I will not much speake in contempt or praise ;
Yet in these following lines I'll shew my minde
Of playes, and such as have 'gainst playes repin'd.

A play's a briefe epitome of time,
Where man may see his vertue or his crime
Lay'd open, either to their vice's shame,
Or to their vertues' memorable fame.
A play's a true transparant christall mirror,
To shew good minds their mirth, the bad their terror :
Where stabbing, drabbing, dicing, drinking, swearing,
Are all proclaim'd unto the sight and hearing,
In ugly shapes of heaven-abhorrid sinne,
Where men may see the mire they wallow in.
And well I know it makes the divell rage,
To see his servants flouted on a stage.
A whore, a thiefe, a pander, or a bawd,
A broker, or a slave that lives by fraud ;
An usurer, whose soule is in his chest,
Until in hell it comes to restlesse rest ;
A fly-blowne gull, that faine would be a gallant ;
A raggamuffin that hath spent his tallant ;
A self-wise foole, that sees his wits out-stript,
Or any vice that feeles it selfe but nipt,
Either in Tragedy or Comedy,
In Morall, Pastorall, or History,
But straight the poyson of their envious tongues,
Breakes out in vollyes of calumnious wronges,
And then a tinker, or a dray-man sweares,
I would the house were fir'd about their eares.
Thus when a play nips Sathan by the nose,
Streight all his vassals are the actor's foes.
But feare not, man, let envy swell and burst,
Proceed, and let the divell do his worst ;
For playes are good, or bad, as they are us'd,
And best inventions often are abused.

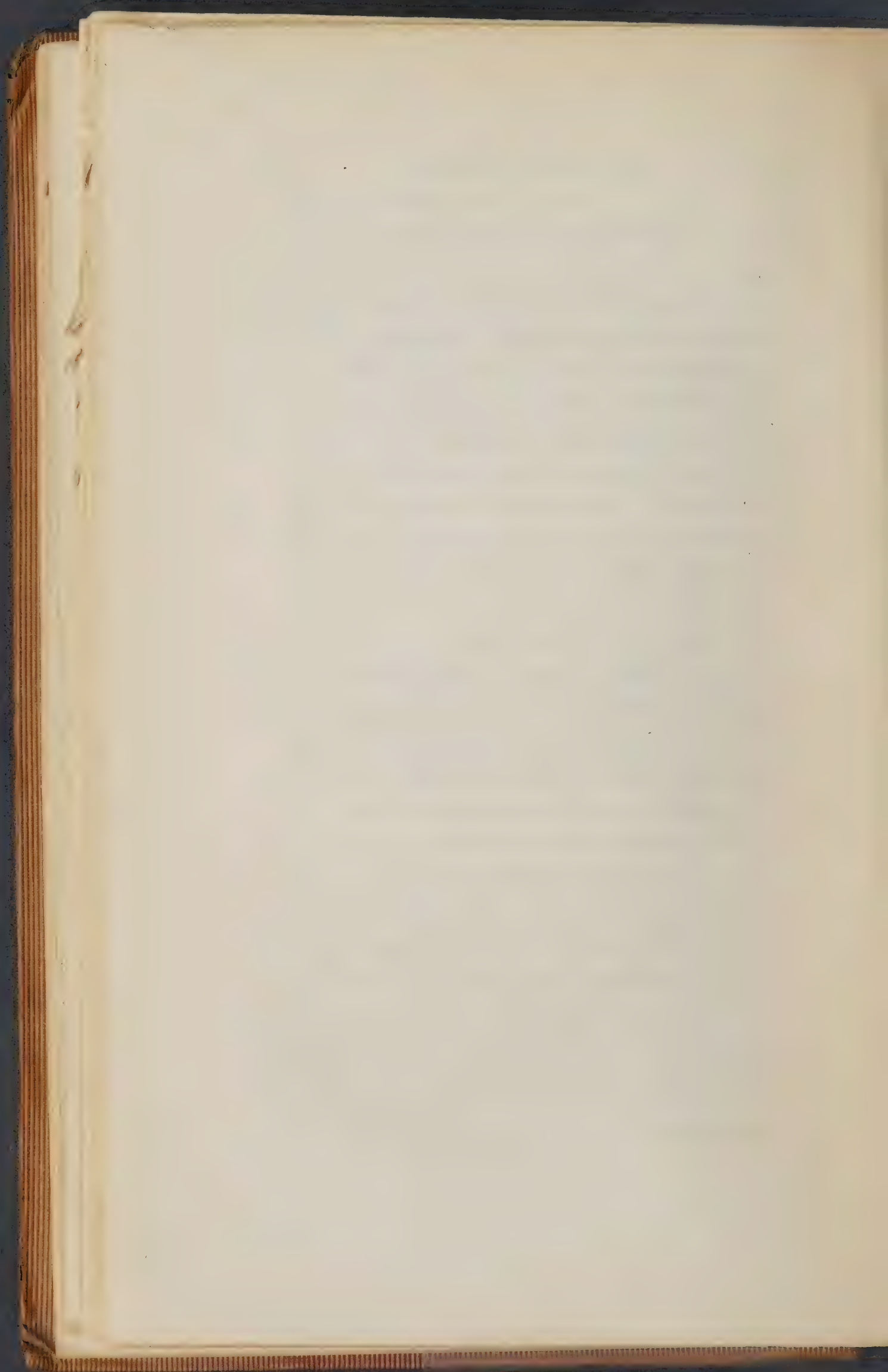
Your's ever,

JOHN TAYLOR.

The Author to his Booke.

The world's a theater, the earth a stage,
Which God and nature doth with actors fill :
Kings have their entrance in due equipage,
And some there parts play well, and others ill.
The best no better are (in this theater),
Where every humor's fitted in his kinde ;
This a true subieet acts, and that a traytor,
The first applauded, and the last confin'd ;
This plaies an honest man, and that a knave,
A gentle person this, and he a clowne,
One man is ragged, and another brave :
All men have parts, and each man acts his owne.
She a chaste lady acteth all her life ;
A wanton curtezan another playes ;
This covets marriage love, that nuptial strife ;
Both in continual action spend their dayes :
Some citizens, some soldiers, borne to aduenter,
Sheepheards, and sea-men. Then our play's begun
When we are borne, and to the world first enter,
And all finde exits when their parts are done.
If then the world a theater present,
As by the roundnesse it appears most fit,
Built with starre galleries of hye ascent,
In which Jehove doth as spectator sit,
And chiefe determiner to applaud the best,
And their indeuours crowne with more then merit ;
But by their euill actions doomes the rest
To end disgrac't, whilst others praise inherit ;
He that denyes then theaters should be,
He may as well deny a world to me.

THOMAS HEYWOOD.



A N A P O L O G Y F O R

Actors ; and first touching
their Antiquity.

Mooved by the sundry exclamations of many seditious sectists in this age, who, in the fatnes and ranknes of a peacable common-wealth, grow up like unsavery tufts of grasse, which, though outwardly greene and fresh to the eye, yet are they both unpleasant and unprofitable, beeing too sower for food, and too ranke for fodder ; these men, like the ancient Germans, affecting no fashion but their owne, would draw other nations to bee slovens like them-selves, and, undertaking to purifie and reforme the sacred bodies of the church and common-weale (in the trew use of both which they are altogether ignorant), would but like artlesse phisitions, for experiment sake, rather minister pils to poyson the whole body, then cordials to preserve any, or the least part. Amongst many other thinges tollerated in this peaceable and flourishing state, it hath pleased the high and mighty princes of this land to limit the use of certain publicke theaters, which, since many of these over-curious heads have lavishly and violently slandered, I hold it not amisse to lay open some few antiquities to approve the true use of them, with arguments (not of the least moment) which, according to the weaknes of my spirit and infancy of my iudgment, I will (by God's grace) commit to the eyes of all favorable and iudiciall readers, as well to satisfie the requests of some of our well qualified favorers, as to stop the envious acclamations of those who chalenge to themselves a priveledge[d] invective, and against all free estates a railing

liberty. Loath am I (I protest), being the youngest and weakest of the nest wherin I was hatcht, to soare this pitch before others of the same brood, more fledge, and of better winge then my selfe; but though they whome more especially this taske concernes, both for their ability in writing and sufficiency in judgement (as their workes generally witnesse to the world) are content to over-slip so necessary a subject, and have left it as to mee, the most unworthy, I thought it better to stammer out my mind, then not to speake at all; to scribe downe a marke in the stead of writing a name, and to stumble on the way, rather then to stand still and not to proceede on so necessary a journey.

Nox erat, et somnus lassos submitit ocellos. It was about that time of the night when darknes had already overspread the world, and a husht and generall sylence possest the face of the earth, and men's bodyes, tyred with the businesse of the daye, betaking themselves to their best repose, their never-sleeping soules labored in uncoth dreames and visions, when suddenly appeared to me the tragicke Muse, *Melpomene*,

———— *animosa Tragædia:*

———— *et movit pictis immixa cothurnis*

Densum cesarie terque quaterque caput.

Her heyre rudely disheveled, her chaplet withered, her visage with teares stayned, her brow furrowed, her eyes dejected, nay, her whole complexion quite faded and altered; and, perusing her habit, I might behold the colour of her fresh roabe all crimson breathed, and with the envenomed juice of some profane spilt inke in every place stained; nay more, her busken of all the wonted jewels and ornaments utterly despoyled, about which, in manner of a garter, I might behold these letters, written in a playne and large character:

Behold my tragicke buskin rent and torne,
Which kings and emperors in their tymes have worne.

This I no sooner had perused, but suddenly I might perceive the intraged Muse cast up her skornfull head: her eye-balls sparkle fire, and a suddain dash of disdaine, intermixt with rage, purples her cheek. When, pacing with a maies-ticke gate, and rowsing up her fresh spirits with a lively and queint action, shee began in these or the like words.

Grande sonant tragici, tragicos decet ira cothurnos.

Am I Melpomene, the buskend Muse,
That held in awe the tyrants of the world,
And playde their lives in publicke theaters,
Making them feare to sinne, since fearelesse I
Prepar'd to write their lives in crimson inke,
And act their shames in eye of all the world?
Have not I whipt Vice with a scourge of steele,
Unmaskt sterne Murther, sham'd lascivious Lust,
Pluckt off the visar from grimme Treason's face,
And made the sunne point at their ugly sinnes?
Hath not this powerful hand tam'd fiery Rage,
Kild poysonous Envy with her owne keene darts,
Choak't up the covetous mouth with moulten gold,
Burst the vast wombe of eating Gluttony,
And drown'd the Drunkard's gall in juice of grapes?
I have showed Pryde his picture on a stage,
Layde ope the ugly shapes his steele-glasse hid,
And made him passe thence meekely. In those daies
When emperours with their presence grac't my sceanes,
And thought none worthy to present themselves
Save emperours, to delight embassadours,
Then did this garland flourish, then my roabe
Was of the deepest crimson, the best dye:

*Cura ducum fuerant olim regumque poetæ,
Præmiaque antiqui magna tulere chori.*

Who lodge then in the bosome of great kings,
Save he that had a grave cothurnate Muse?

A stately verse in an Iambick stile
 Became a Kesar's mouth. Oh! these were times
 Fit for you bards to vent your golden rymes.
 Then did I tread on arras; cloth of tissue
 Hung round the fore-front of my stage; the pillars
 That did support the roofe of my large frame
 Double appareld in pure Ophir gold,
 Whilst the round circle of my spacious orbe
 Was throng'd with princes, dukes, and senators.
Nunc hedaræ sine honore jacent.
 But now's the iron age, and black-mouth'd cures
 Barke at the vertues of the former world.
 Such with their breath have blasted my fresh roabe,
 Pluckt at my flowry chaplet, towsed my tresses;
 Nay, some who, for their basenesse hist and skorn'd,
 The stage, as loathsome, hath long-since spued out,
 Have watcht their time to cast invenom'd inke
 To stayne my garments with. Oh! Seneca,
 Thou tragicke poet, hadst thou liv'd to see
 This outrage done to sad Melpomene,
 With such sharpe lynes thou wouldst revenge my blot,
 As armed Ovid against Ibis wrot.

With that in rage shee left the place, and I my dreame, for
 at the instant I awaked; when, having perused this vision over
 and over againe in my remembrance, I suddenly bethought
 mee, how many ancient poets, tragicke and comicke, dying
 many ages agoe, live still amongst us in their works: as,
 amongst the Greekes, Euripides, Menander, Sophocles, Eu-
 polis, Æschylus, Aristophanes, Apollodorus, Anaxandrides,
 Nicomachus, Alexis, Tereus, and others; so, among the
 Latins, Attilius, Actius, Melithus, Plautus, Terens, and others,
 whome for brevity sake I omit.

*Hos ediscit, et hos arcto stipata theatro
 Spectat Roma potens; habet hos, numeratque poëtas.*

These potent Rome acquires and holdeth deare,
And in their round theaters flocks to heare.

These, or any of these, had they lived in the afternoone of the world, as they dyed even in the morning, I assure my selfe would have left more memorable tropheys of that learned Muse, whome, in their golden numbers, they so richly adorned. And, amongst our moderne poets, who have bene industrious in many an elaborate and ingenious poem, even they whose pennes have had the greatest trafficke with the stage, have bene in the excuse of these Muses most forgetfull. But, leaving these, lest I make too large a head to a small body, and so mishape my subject, I will begin with the antiquity of acting comedies, tragedies, and hystories. And first in the golden world.

In the first of the Olimpiads, amongst many other active exercises in which Hercules ever triumph'd as victor, there was in his nonage presented unto him by his tutor, in the fashion of a history acted by the choyse of the nobility of Greece, the worthy and memorable acts of his father Jupiter: which being personated with lively and well spirited action, wrought such impression in his noble thoughts, that in meere emulation of his father's valor (not at the behest of his stepdame Juno), he perform'd his twelve labours. Him valiant Theseus followed, and Achilles Theseus; which bred in them such hawty and magnanimous attempts, that every succeeding age hath recorded their worths unto fresh admiration. Aristotle, that prince of philosophers, whose bookes carry such credit even in these our universities, that to say *ipse dixit* is a sufficient *axioma*, hee, having the tuition of young Alexander, caused the destruction of Troy to be acted before his pupill; in which the valor of Achilles was so naturally exprest, that it imprest the hart of Alexander, in so much that all his succeeding actions were meerly shaped after that patterne; and it may be imagined that, had Achilles never lived, Alexander had never conquered the whole world. The like assertion may

be made of that ever-renowned Roman, Julius Cæsar, who, after the like representation of Alexander in the temple of Hercules, standing in Gades, was never in any peace of thoughts, till by his memorable exployts hee had purchas'd to himselfe the name of Alexander, as Alexander, till hee thought himself of desert to be called Achilles; Achilles, Theseus; Theseus, till he had sufficiently imitated the acts of Hercules; and Hercules, till hee held himselfe worthy to be called the son of Jupiter. Why should not the lives of these worthyes, presented in these our dayes, effect the like wonders in the princes of our times, which can no way bee so exquisitly demonstrated, nor so lively portrayed, as by action. Oratory is a kind of speaking picture; therefore, may some say, is it not sufficient to discourse to the eares of princes the fame of these conquerors? Painting, likewise, is a dumbe oratory; therefore may we not as well, by some curious Pygmalion, drawe their conquests to worke the like love in princes towards these worthyes, by shewing them their pictures drawn to the life, as it wrought on the poore painter to bee inamoured of his owne shadow? I answer this.

*Non magis expressi vultus per ahenea signa,
Quàm per vatis opus mores animique virorum
Clarorum apparent.*——

The visage is no better cut in brasse,
Nor can the carver so expresse the face,
As doth the poet's penne, whose arts surpasses
To give men's lives and vertues their due grace.

A description is only a shadow, received by the eare, but not perceived by the eye; so lively portrature is meere a forme seene by the eye, but can neither shew action, passion, motion, or any other gesture to moove the spirits of the beholder to admiration: but to see a souldier shap'd like a souldier, walke, speake, act like a souldier; to see a Hector all besmered in blood, trampling upon the bulkes of kinges;

a Troilus returning from the field, in the sight of his father Priam, as if man and horse, even from the steed's rough fetlockes to the plume on the champion's helmet, had bene together plunged into a purple ocean ; to see a Pompey ride in triumph, then a Cæsar conquer that Pompey ; labouring Hannibal alive, hewing his passage through the Alpes. To see as I have seene, Hercules, in his owne shape, hunting the boare, knocking downe the bull, taming the hart, fighting with Hydra, murdering Geryon, slaughtering Diomed, wounding the Stymphalides, killing the Centaurs, pashing the lion, squeezing the dragon, dragging Cerberus in chaynes, and lastly, on his high pyramides writing *Nil ultra*, Oh, these were sights to make an Alexander !

To turne to our domesticke hystories : what English blood, seeing the person of any bold Englishman presented, and doth not hugge his fame, and hunnye at his valor, pursuing him in his enterprise with his best wishes, and as beeing wrapt in contemplation, offers to him in his hart all prosperous performance, as if the personator were the man personated ? so bewitching a thing is lively and well-spirited action, that it hath power to new-mold the harts of the spectators, and fashion them to the shape of any noble and notable attempt. What coward, to see his countryman valiant, would not bee ashamed of his owne cowardise ? What English prince, should hee behold the true portrature of that famous King Edward the Third, foraging France, taking so great a king captive in his owne country, quartering the English Lyons with the French flower-delyce, and would not bee suddenly inflam'd with so royale a spectacle, being made apt and fit for the like atchievement. So of Henry the Fift ; but not to be tedious in any thing, Ovid, in one of his poems, holds this opinion—that Romulus was the first that brought plaies into Italy, which he thus sets downe.

*Primus sollicitos fecisti, Romule, ludos,
Cum juvit viduos rapta Sabina viros :*

*De Arte
Amandi. I.*

Tunc neque marmoreo pendebant vela theatro, &c.

Which wee English thus—

Thou, noble Romulus, first playes contrives,
To get thy widdowed souldiers Sabine wyves—
In those dayes from the marble house did wave
No saile, no silken flagge, or ensigne brave :
Then was the tragicke stage not painted red,
Or any mixed staines on pillers spred :
Then did the sceane want art, th' unready stage
Was made of grasse and earth in that rude age ;
About the which were thick-leaved branches placed,
Nor did the audients hold themselves disgraced
Of turfe and heathy sods to make their seates,
Fram'd in degrees of earth and mossy peates.
Thus plac'd in order every Roman pry'd
Into her face that sat next by his side,
And closing with her severally gan move,
The innocent Sabine women to their love :
And whilst the piper Thuscus rudely plaid,
And by thrice stamping with his foote had made
A signe unto the rest, there was a shout,
Whose shrill report pierst all the aire about.
Now at a signe of rape, given from the king,
Round through the house the lusty Romans fling,
Leaving no corner of the same unsought,
Till every one a frightened virgin caught.
Looke, as the trembling dove the eagle flyes,
Or a yong lambe when he the wolfe espyes,
So ran the poore girles, filling th'aire with skreekes,
Emptying of all the colour their pale cheekes.
One feare possest them all, but not one looke,
This teares her haire, she hath her wits forsooke,
Some sadly sit, some on their mothers call,
Some chafe, some flye, some stay, but frightened all.

Thus were the ravish'd Sabines blushing led
(Becomming shame) unto each Roman's bed :
If any striv'd against it, streight her man
Would take her on his knee (whom feare made wan)
And say, Why weep'st thou, sweet? what ailes my deere?
Dry up these drops, these clouds of sorrow cleere :
Il'e be to thee, if thou thy grieve will smother,
Such as thy father was unto thy mother.
Full well could Romulus his souldiers please,
To give them such faire mistresses as these.
If such rich wages thou wilt give to me,
Great Romulus, thy souldier I will be.

Romulus, having erected the walles of Rome and leading under him a warlike nation, being in continuall war with the Sabines, after the choyce selecting of a place fit for so famous a citty, and not knowing how to people the same, his traine wholly consisting of souldiers, who, without the company of women (they not having any in their army) could not multiply, but so were likely that their immortal fames should dye issulesse with their mortal bodies, thus, therefore, Romulus devised :—After a parle and attonement made with the neighbour nations, hee built a theater, plaine, according to the time, yet large, fit for the entertainment of so great an assembly; and these were they whose famous issue peopled the cittie of Rome, which in after ages grew to such height that not Troy, founded by Dardanus—Carthage, layed by Dido—Tyrus, built by Agenor—Memphis, made by Ogdous—Thebes, seated by Cadmus—nor Babylon, reared by Semiramis—were any way equal to this situation, grounded by Romulus, to which all the discovered kingdomes of the earth after became tributaries. And in the noon-tide of their glory, and height of all their honor, they edified theaters and amphi-theaters; for in their flourishing common-weale their publike comedians and tragedians most florished, insomuch that the tragicke and

comicke poets were all generally admired of the people, and particularly every man of his private Mecænas.

Imperante Augusto natus est Christus. In the reigne of Augustus, Christ was born ;
Imperante Tiberio crucifixus. and, as well in his dayes as before his birth, these solemnities were held in the greatest estimation. In Julius Cæsar's time, predecessor to Augustus, the famous hony-tong'd orator, Ci-

cero, florished ; who, amongst many other his eloquent orations, writ certaine yet extant, for the comedian, Roscius (*pro Roscio Comædo*), of whom we shall speake more large hereafter. These continued in their honour till the reigne of Tiberius Cæsar ; and under Tiberius Christ was crucified. To this end do I use this assertion, because, in the full and perfect time our Saviour sojourned on the earth, even in those happy and peacefull dayes, the spacious theaters were in the greatest opinion amongst the Romans ; yet neither Christ himselfe, nor any of his sanctified apostles, in any of their sermons, acts, or documents, so much as named them, or upon any abusive occasion touched them. Therefore hence (me thinkes) a very probable and important argument may be grounded, that since they in their divine wisdomes knew all the sinnes abounding in the world before that time, taxt and reprov'd all the abuses reigning in that time, and foresaw all the actions and inconveniences (to the church prejudiciall) in the time to come, since they (I say), in all their holy doctrines, bookes, and principles of divinity, were content to passe them over, as things tollerated and indifferent, why should any nice and over-scrupulous heads, since they cannot ground their curiousnesse either upon the Old or New Testament, take upon them to correct, controule, or carpe at that, against which they cannot finde any text in the sacred scriptures ?

In the time of Nero Cæsar, the apostle Paul was persecuted and suffered—Nero was then emperour : Paul writ his Epistle to the Romans, and at the same time did the theaters

most flourish amongst the Romans; yet where can we quote any place in his epistles which forbids the church of God, then resident in Rome, to absent themselves from any such assemblies?

To speake my opinion with all indifferency, God hath not enjoyned us to weare all our apparrell solely to defend the cold: some garments we weare for warmth, others for ornament. So did the children of Israel hang eare-rings in their eares, nor was it by the law forbidden them. That purity is not look't for at our hands, being mortall and humane, that is required of the angels, being celestiall and divine. God made us of earth, men; knowes our natures, dispositions, and imperfections, and therefore hath limited us a time to rejoyce, as he hath enjoyned us a time to mourne for our transgressions; and I hold them more scrupulous than well advised, that go about to take from us the use of all moderate recreations. Why hath God ordained for man varietie of meates, dainties, and delicates, if not to taste thereon? Why doth the world yeeld choyce of honest pastimes, if not decently to use them? Was not the hare made to be hunted? the stagge to be chaced? and so of all other beasts of game in their severall kindes. Since God hath provided us of these pastimes, why may we not use them to his glory? Now, if you aske me why were not the theaters as gorgeously built in all other cities of Italy as Rome, and why are not play-houses maintained as well in other cities of England as London? My answer is, It is not meet every meane esquire should carry the part belonging to one of the nobility, or for a noble-man to usurpe the estate of a prince. Rome was a metropolis, a place whither all the nations knowne under the sunne resorted: so is London, and being to receive all estates, all princes, all nations, therefore to afford them all choyce of pastimes, sports, and recreations. Yet were there theaters in all the greatest cities of the world, as we will more largely particularize hereafter.

I never yet could read any history of any commonweale, which did not thrive and prosper whilst these publike solemnities were held in adoration. Oh ! but (say some) Marcus Aurelius banisht all such triviall exercises beyond the confines of Italy. Indeed, this emperour was a philosopher of the sect of Diogenes, a Cinicke ; and whether the hand of Diogenes would become a scepter or a root better, I leave to your judgments. This Aurelius was a great and sharpe reprover, who, because the matrons and ladies of Rome, in scornie of his person, made a play of him, in his time interdicted the use of their theatres : so, because his wife, Faustine, plaid false with him, he generally exclaimed against all women ; because himselfe could not touch an instrument, he banisht all the musitians in Rome ; and, being a meere coward, put all the gladiators and sword-players into exile. And, lest his owne suspected life should be againe acted by the comedians, as it before had beene by the noble matrons, he profest himselfe adversary to all of that quality ; so severe a reformation of the weale publike hee used, restraining the citizens of their free liberties, which till his daies was not scene in Rome. But what profited this the weale publicke ? Do but peruse the ancient Roman chronicles, and you shall undoubtedly finde, that from the time of this precise Emperour, that stately city, whose lofty buildings crowned seven high hils at once, and over-peered them all, streight way begun to hang the head. By degrees the forreigne kingdomes revolted, and the homage done them by strange nations was in a little space quite abrogated ; for they governed all the world, some under consuls, some under pro-consuls, presidents, and pretors : they divided their dominions and contries into principalities, some into provinces, some into toparchyes, some into tetrarchyes, some into tribes, others into ethnarchyes ; but now their homage ceast, Marcus Aurelius ended their mirth, which presaged, that shortly after should begin their sorrow. He banisht their liberty, and immediately followed their bon-

dage; for Rome, which till then kept all the nations of the world in subjective awe, was in a little space awd even by the basest nations of the world.

To leave Italy and looke backe into Greece. The sages and princes of Grecia, who for the refinednesse of their language were in such reputation through the world, that all other tongues were esteemed barbarous, these, that were the first understanders, trained up their youthful nobility to bee actors, debarring the base mechanickes so worthy employment; for none but the young heroes were admitted that practise, so to embolden them in the delivery of any forraine embassy. These wise men of Greece (so called by the Oracle) could by their industry finde out no neerer or directer course to plant humanity and manners in the hearts of the multitude, then to instruct them by moralized mysteries what vices to avoyd, what vertues to embrace, what enormities to abandon, what ordinances to observe; whose lives, being for some speciall endowments in former times honoured, they should admire and follow; whose vicious actions, personated in some licentious liver, they should despise and shunne; which, borne out as well by the wisdom of the poet, as supported by the worth of the actors, wrought such impression in the hearts of the plebe, that in short space they excelled in civility and government, inso-much that from them all the neighbour nations drew their patternes of humanity, as well in the establishing of their lawes, as the reformation of their manners. These Magi and Gymnosophistæ, that lived (as I may say) in the childhood and infancy of the world, before it knew how to speake perfectly, thought even in those dayes that action was the neerest way to plant understanding in the hearts of the ignorant. Yea, (but say some) you ought not to confound the habits of either sex, as to let your boyes weare the attires of virgins, &c. To which I answer: The scriptures are not alwayes to be expounded meerely according to the letter (for in such

estate stands our mayne sacramentall controversie), but they ought exactly to bee conferred with the purpose they handle. To do as the Sodomites did, use preposterous lusts in preposterous habits, is in that text flatly and severely forbidden; nor can I imagine any man, that hath in him any taste or relish of christianity, to be guilty of so abhorred a sinne. Besides, it is not probable that playes were meant in that text, because we read not of any playes knowne, in that time that Deuteronomie was writ, among the children of Israel. Nor do I hold it lawfull to beguile the eyes of the world in confounding the shapes of either sex, as to keep any youth in the habit of a virgin, or any virgin in the shape of a lad, to shroud them from the eyes of their fathers, tutors, or protectors, or to any other sinister intent whatsoever; but, to see our youths attired in the habit of women, who knowes not what their intents be? who cannot distinguish them by their names, assuredly knowing they are but to represent such a lady, at such a time appoynted?

Do not the Universities, the fountaines and well springs of all good arts, learning, and documents, admit the like in their colledges? and they (I assure my selfe) are not ignorant of their true use. In the time of my residence in Cambridge, I have seen tragedyes, comedyes, historyes, pastorals, and shewes, publickly acted, in which the graduates of good place and reputation have bene specially parted. This it held necessary for the emboldening of their junior schollers to arme them with audacity against they come to bee employed in any publicke exercise, as in the reading of the dialecticke, rhetoricke, ethicke, mathematicke, the physicke, or metaphysike lectures. It teacheth audacity to the bashfull grammarian, beeing newly admitted into the private colledge, and, after matriculated and entred as a member of the University, and makes him a bold sophister, to argue *pro et contra* to compose his syllogismes, cathegoricke, or hypotheticke (simple or compound), to reason and frame a suffi-

cient argument to prove his questions, or to defend any *axioma*, to distinguish of any dilemma, and be able to moderate in any argumentation whatsoever.

To come to rhetoricke: it not onely emboldens a scholler to speake, but instructs him to speake well, and with judgement to observe his commas, colons, and full poynts; his parentheses, his breathing spaces, and distinctions; to keepe a decorum in his countenance, neither to frowne when he should smile, nor to make unseemely and disguised faces in the delivery of his words; not to stare with his eies, draw awry his mouth, confound his voice in the hollow of his throat, or teare his words hastily betwixt his teeth; neither to buffet his deske like a mad man, nor stande in his place like a livelesse image, demurely plodding, and without any smooth and formal motion. It instructs him to fit his phrases to his action, and his action to his phrase, and his pronuntiation to them both.

Tully, in his booke *Ad Caium Herennium*, requires five things in an orator—invention, disposition, eloquution, memory, and pronuntiation; yet all are imperfect without the sixth, which is action, for be his invention never so fluent and exquisite, his disposition and order never so composed and formall, his eloquence and elaborate phrases never so materiall and pithy, his memory never so firme and retentive, his pronuntiation never so muscally and plausible, yet without a comely and elegant gesture, a gracious and a bewitching kinde of action, a naturall and familiar motion of the head, the hand, the body, and a moderate and fit countenance sutable to all the rest, I hold all the rest as nothing. A delivery and sweet action is the glosse and beauty of any discourse that belongs to a scholler. And this is the action behoovefull in any that professe this quality, not to use any impudent or forced motion in any part of the body, nor rough or other violent gesture; nor on the contrary to stand like a stiffe starcht man, but to qualifie every thing according to the nature of the person personated: for in overacting trickes,

and toying too much in the anticke habit of humors, men of the ripest desert, greatest opinions, and best reputations, may breake into the most violent absurdities. I take not upon me to teach, but to advise, for it becomes my juniority rather to be pupil'd my selfe, then to instruct others.

To proceed, and to looke into those men that professe themselves adversaries to this quality, they are none of the gravest and most ancient doctors of the academy, but onely a sorte of finde-faults, such as interest their prodigall tongues in all men's affaires without respect. These I have heard as liberally in their superficial censures taxe the exercises performed in their colledges, as these acted on our publicke stages, not looking into the true and direct use of either, but ambitiously preferring their owne presumptuous humors, before the profound and authenticall judgements of all the learned doctors of the Universitie. Thus you see, that touching the antiquity of actors and acting, they have not beene new, lately begot by any upstart invention, but I have derived them from the first Olimpiads, and I shall continue the use of them even till this present age. And so much touching their antiquity.

Pars superest cœpti : pars est exhausta laboris.

OF ACTORS, AND

their ancient Dignitie.

THE SECOND BOOKE.

JULIUS CÆSAR, the famous conquerour, discoursing with Marcus Cicero, the as famous orator, amongst many other matters debated it pleased the emperour to aske his opinion of the *histriones*, the players of Rome, pretending some cavell against them, as men whose imployment in the common-weale was unnecessary. To whom Cicero answered thus: Content thee, Cæsar: there bee many heads busied and bewitched with these pastimes now in Rome, which otherwise would be inquisitive after thee and thy greatnesse. Which answer, how sufficiently the emperour approved, may be conjectured by the many guifts bestowed, and priviledges and charters after granted to men of that quality. Such was likewise the opinion of a great statesman of this land, about the time that certaine bookes were called in question. Doubtlesse there be many men of that temper, who, were they not carried away, and weaned from their owne corrupt and bad disposition, and by accidentall meanes removed and altered from their dangerous and sullen intendments, would be found apt and prone to many notorious and trayterous practises. Kings and monarches are by God placed and inthroned *supra nos*, above us, and we are to regard them as the sun from whom we receive the light to live under, whose beauty and brightnesse we may onely admire, not meddle with. *Ne ludamus cum Diis*: they that shoot at the starres over their heads, their arrowes fall directly downe, and wound themselves. But this allusion may be

better referred to the use of action promised in our third treatise, then to their dignity, which next and immediately (by God's grace) our purpose is to handle.

The word *tragedy* is derived from the Greeke word *τράγος*, *caper*, a goat, because the goat, being a beast most injurious to the vines, was sacrificed to Bacchus. Heereupon Diodurus writes that tragedies had their first names from the oblations due to Bacchus; or else of *τράγξ*, a kinde of painting, which the tragedians of the old time used to stayne their faces with. By the censure of Horace, Thespis was the first tragicke writer :

*Horace, Arte Poeticâ. Ignotum tragicæ genus invenisse camenæ
Dicitur, et plaustis verxisse poemata Thespis.*

The unknowne Tragicke Muse Thespis first sought,
And her high poems in her chariot brought.

This Thespis was an Athenian poet, borne in Thespina, a free towne in Bœotia by Helicon: of him the nine Muses were called Thespiades. But by the censure of Quintilian, Æschylus was before him; but after them Sophocles and Euripides clothed their tragedies in better ornament. Livius Potid. Virgil. Andronicus was the first that writ any Roman tragedy, in which kinde of poësie Accius, Pacuvius, Seneca, and Ovidius excelled.

*Ovid, Amorum. lib. 2. Eleg. 18. Sceptra tamen sumpsi: curâque tragædia nostra
Crevit; at huic operi quamlibet aptus eram.*

The sceptred tragedy then proov'd our wit,
And to that worke we found us apt and fit.

Againe, in his fift Booke, *De tristibus. Eleg. 8.*

*Carmina quòd vestro saltari nostra theatro
Versibus, et plaudì scribis (amice) meis.*

Deere friend, thou writ'st our Muse is 'mongst you song,
And in your theaters with plaudits rong.

Likewise in his epistle to Augustus, writ from the Ponticke Island, whither he was banisht :

*Et dedimus tragicis scriptum regale cothurnis,
Quæque gravis debet verba cothurnus habet.*

With royall stile speakes our Cothurnate Muse,
A buskind phrase in buskin'd playes we use.

The word *comedy* is derived from the Greeke word *Κόμος*, a street, and *ᾠδῆ*, *cantus*, a street song; as signifying there was ever mirth in those streets where Comedies most florisht :

Hæc paces habuere bonæ, ventique secundi.

In this kind, Aristophanes, Eupolis, Cratinus were famous; after them, Menander and Philemon: succeeding them, Cici-lius, Nævius, Plautus, and Terentius.

*Musaque Turanî tragicis innixa cothurnis
Et tua cum socco, Musa, Melisse levis.*

Turanus' tragicke buskin grac'd the play,
Melissa's comicke shooe made lighter way.

The ancient histriographers write, that among *Alex. Meta-pol.* the Greekes there were divers places of exercises appointed for poets; some at the grave of Theseus, others at Helicon, where they in comedies and tragedies contended for several prises, where Sophocles was adjudged victor over Æschylus. There were others in the citty of Elis, where Menander was foyled by Philemon. In the same kinde, Hesiod is sayd to have triumpht over Homer. So Corinna, (for her excellencies in these inventions, called *musica lyrica*) excelled Pindarus, the Theban poet, for which she was five times crowned with garlands.

The first publicke theater was by Dionysius built in Athens: it was fashioned in the manner of a semi-circle, or halfe-moone, whose galleries and degrees were reared from the ground,

their staires high, in the midst of which did arise the stage, beside, such a convenient distance from the earth, that the audience assembled might easily behold the whole project without impediment. From this the Romanes had their first patterne, which at the first not being roof't, but lying open to all weathers, Quintus Catulus was the first that caused the outside to bee covered with linnen cloth, and the inside to bee hung round with curtens of silke. But when Marcus Scaurus was Ædilis, hee repaired it, and supported it round with pillars of marble.

Caius Curio, at the solemne obsequies of his father, erected a famous theater of timber, in so strange a forme that, on two several stages, two sundry playes might be acted at once, and yet the one bee no hinderance or impediment to the other; and, when hee so pleased, the whole frame was artificially composed to meet in the midst, which made an amphitheater.

Pompey the great, after his victories against Mithridates, king of Pontus, saw in the citty Mitilene a theater of another forme; and, after his triumphes and returne to Rome, he raised one after the same patterne of free-stone, of that vastnesse and receipt, that within his spaciousnesse it was able at once to receive fourescore thousand people, every one to sit, see, and heare.

In emulation of this sumptuous and gorgious building, Julius Cæsar, successor to Pompey's greatnesse, exceeded him in his famous architecture: hee raised an amphitheater *Campo Martio*, in the field of Mars, which as farre excelled Pompey's, as Pompey's did exceed Caius Curio's, Curio's that of Marcus Scaurus, Scaurus' that of Quintus Catulus, or Catulus' that which was first made in Athens by Dionysius: for the basses, columnes, pillars, and pyramides were all of hewed marble; the covering of the stage, which wee call the heavens (where upon any occasion their gods descended), were geometrically supported by a giant-like Atlas, whom the poets

for his astrology feigne to beare heaven on his shoulders ; in which an artificiall sunne and moone, of extraordinary aspect and brightnesse, had their diurnall and nocturnall motions ; so had the starres their true and cœlestiall course ; so had the spheares, which in their continuall motion made a most sweet and ravishing harmony. Here were the elements and planets in their degrees, the sky of the moone, the sky of Mercury, Venus, Sol, Mars, Jupiter, and Saturne ; the starres, both fixed and wandering, and above all these, the first mover or *primum mobile*, there were the 12 signes ; the lines equinocciall and zodiacal ; the meridian circle, or zenith ; the orizon circle, or emisphere ; the zones, torrid and frozen ; the poles, articke and antarticke, with all other tropickes, orbs, lines, circles, the solstitium, and all other motions of the stars, signes, and planets. In briefe, in that little compasse were comprehended the perfect modell of the firmament, the whole frame of the heavens, with all grounds of astronomically conjecture. From the rooffe grew a loover, or turret, of an exceeding altitude, from which an ensigne of silke waved continually, *pendebant vela theatro*. But lest I waste too much of that compendiousnesse I have promised in my discourse in idle descriptions, I leave you to judge the proportion of the body by the making of this one limbe, every piller, seat, footpost, staire, gallery, and whatsoever else belongs to the furnishing of such a place, being in cost, substance, forme, and artificiall workmanship most sutable. The floore, stage, rooffe, outside, and inside as costly as the Pantheon or Capitoll. In the principall galleries were special, remote, selected, and chosen seats for the emperour, *patres conscripti*, dictators, consuls, prætors, tribunes, triumviri, decemviri, ædiles, cures, and other noble officers among the senators : all other roomes were free for the plebe, or multitude. To this purpose I introduce these famous edifices, as wondring at their cost and state, thus intimating, that if the quality of acting

were (as some propose) altogether unworthy, why for the speciall practise, and memorable imployment of the same, were founded so many rare and admirable monuments? and by whom were they erected? but by the greatest princes of their times, and the most famous and worthiest of them all, builded by him that was the greatest prince of the world, Julius Cæsar, at what time in his hand he grip't the universal empire of the earth. So of Augustus Cæsar:

*Inspice ludorum sumptus, Auguste, tuorum
Empta tibi magno.*

Behold, Augustus, the great pompe and state,
Of these thy playes payd deere for, at hye rate.

Hæc tu spectasti, spectandaque sæpe dedisti.

And could any inferiour quality bee more worthily esteemed or nobler graced, then to have princes of such magnificence and state to bestow on them places of such port and countenance? had they been never well regarded, they had been never so sufficiently provided for, nor would such worthy princes have strived who should (by their greatest expence and provision) have done them the amplest dignity, had they not with incredible favour regarded the quality. I will not traverse this too farre, least I incurre some suspicion of selfe-love: I rather leave it to the favourable consideration of the wise, though to the perversenesse of the ignorant; who, had they any taste either of poesie, phylosophy, or historicall antiquity, would rather stand mated at their owne impudent ignorance, then against such noble and notable examples stand in publicke defiance.

I read of a theater built in the midst of the river Tiber, standing on pillers and arches, the foundation wrought under water like London-bridge: the nobles and ladyes, in their barges and gondelayes, landed at the very stayres of the galleryes. After these they composed others, but differing in forme from

the theater, or amphitheater, and every such was called *Circus*, the frame globe-like and merely round :

Circus in hanc exit clamataque palma theatris.

And the yeare from the first building of Rome, five hundred threescore and seven, what time Spurius Posthumus Albinus, and Quintus Martius Philippus were consuls, Nero made one, and the noble Flaminius another ; but the greatest was founded by Tarquinius Priscus, and was called *Circus Maximus*. In this the gladiators practised, the widenesse and spaciousnesse was such, that in it they fought at barriers, and many times ran at tilt. Dion records eightene elephants slaine at once in one theater. More particularly to survey the rarer monuments of Rome, neere to the Pantheon (the temple of the Roman gods), at the discent from the hil Capitolinus, lies the great Forum, by which is scituate the great amphitheater of Titus, first erected by Vespasian, but after (almost ruined by fire) by the Roman Titus rarely re-edified. It is called *Colliseus*, also a *Cavea*, which signifies a scaffold, also *Arena*, a place of combate, by Sil-

Ammianus. lib. 29.

vianus and Prudentius ; which name Tertullian, Pliny, Ovid, Firmicus, and Apuleius likewise give it. It had the title of *Circus*, *Cavea*, and *Stadium*, by Suetonius, Capitolinus, and Arcadius. Cassianus affirmes these theaters consecrated to Diana Taurica, Tertullian to Mars and Diana, Martial to Jupiter Latiaris, and to Stygian Pluto, whose opinion Minutius and Prudentius approve. The first structures were by the tribune Curio, which Dio, lib. 37, affirmes. Vitruvius, lib. 5, saith, *Multa theatra Romæ structa quot annis*. Of Julius Cæsar's amphitheater *Campo Martio* Dio Cassius records, which Augustus

Dio Cassius. lib. 43.

after patronized, as Victor remembers of them, whose charge Statilius Taurus assisted, of whom *Dio* speaketh thus — 'Ο ταῦρος Στατίλιος θέατρον, &c. *anno urbis*

Dio. lib. 51.

DCCXXV. Pub. Victor forgets not *Circus Flamminii*, and Sue-

Suetonius. tonius remembers one builded by Caligula at
cap. 21. Septa, whose building Claudius at first inter-
Tacitus. dicted. Nero erected a magnificent theater in
lib. 13. the field of Mars. Suetonius, lib. *Ner.* 12.
Annalium.

Publius Victor speakes further of a *castrense theatrum*, a theater belonging to the campe in the country of the Æsquiles, built by Tiberius Cæsar, and of Pompey's theater Pliny witnesseth. The great theater of Statilius, being in greatest use, was burnt in the time of Nero, which Xiphilinus thus speakes of, τό τε παλατιον τὸ ὄρος σύμπαν καὶ τὸ θέατρον τῶν Ταύρων ἐκαύθη. This was built in the midst of the old citty, and after the combustion repaired by Vespasian, *Consulatu suo* 8, whose coyne of one side beares the express figure of his theater; yet was it onely begun by him, but perfected by his sonne Titus. Eutropius and Cassiodorus attribute this place soly to Titus, but Aurelius Victor gives him onely the honour of the perfecting a place so exquisitely begun: this after was repaired by Marcus Anthonius Pius, by whose cost, sayth Capitolinus, the temple of Hadrianus was repaired, and the great theater reedified, which Heliogabalus, by the testimony of Lampridius, patronized, and after the senate of Rome tooke to their protection under the Gordians.

Touching theaters without Rome, Lypsius records *Theatra circà Romam extructa passim*: even in Jerusalem, *Herodes magnificus et illustris rex non uno loco Judeæ amphi-theatra edificavit, extruxit in ipsâ urbe sacrâ, ἐν τῷ πηδιῷ* (as Josephus saith) Ἀμφιθέατρον μέγιστον. Herod, a magnificent and illustrious king, not in one place of Judea erected amphitheaters, but even in the holy citty hee built one of greatest receipt. Also in Greece, Asia, Africke, Spaine, France; nor is there any province in which their ancient structures do not yet remaine, or their perishing ruines are not still remembered. In Italy *ad Lirim, Campaniæ fluvium juxta Minturnas* remaines part of an ample amphi-theater.

At Puteolis, a city by the sea-side in Campania, 8 miles from Naples, one.

At Capua, a magnificent one of sollid marble.

At Alba, in Italy, one.

At Oericulum, in Umbria, one.

At Verona, one most beautiful.

At Florence, one whose compasse yet remaines.

At Athens, in Greece, one of marble.

At Pola, in Istria, by the Hadriaticke sea, one described by Sebastian Serlius.

At Hyspalis, in Spaine, one built without the walles of the citty.

In Turamace, in Vesuna, one of squared stone, the length of 30 perches, or poles, the breadth 20.

At Arelate one.

At Burdegall, one.

At Nemaus, one, remembred by Euseb. in Ecclesiastica Historia.

At Lygeris, one.

Another among the Helvetians.

The *Veronense theatrum marmoreum*, erected before the time of Augustus, as Torellus Serayna in his description of Verona records, but Cyrnicus Anconitanus reports it built in the nine and thirtieth yeare of Octavian: Carolus Sigonius referres it to the reigne of Maximinian, who saith Maximinian built theaters in Mediolanum, Aquilea, and Brixium. The like Cornelius Tacitus, 2 *Hist.*, remembers in Placentia, but the description of the Verona theater Levinus Kersmakerus sets downe. This the great king Francis, *anno* 1539, gave to certain actors, who thirty dayes space together represented in the same the Acts of the Apostles, nor was it lawfull by the edict of the king for any man to remove any stone within thirty poles of his scituation, lest they should endanger the foundation of the theater.

*Sicon, lib.
Hist. Occi-
dent.*

The like have been in Venice, Millan, Padua. In Paris

there are divers now in use by the French king's comedians, as the Burgonian, and others. Others in Massilia, in Trevers, Magontia, in Agrippina, and infinite cities of Greece, Thebes, Carthage, Delphos, Crete, Paphos, Epirus, also in the citie of Tydena, so at Civil, in Spaine, and at Madrill, with others.

Archduke At the entertainment of the Cardinall Alphonsus
Alphonsus. and the infant of Spaine in the Low-countrys, they were presented at Antwerpe with sundry pageants and playes: the King of Denmarke, father to him that now reigneth, entertained into his service a company of English comedians, commended unto him by the honourable the Earle of Leicester: the Duke of Brunswicke and the Landgrave of Hessen retaine in their courts certaine of ours of the same quality. But among the Romans they were in highest reputation, for in comparison of their playes they never regarded any of their solemnities, there *ludi funebres*, there *Floralia*, *Cerealia*, *Frugalia*, *Bacchanalia*, or *Lupercalia*.

Stowe. And amongst us one of our best English Chroniclers records, that when Edward the Fourth would shew himselfe in publicke state to the view of the people, hee repaired to his palace at S. Johnes, where he accustomed to see the citty actors: and since then that house, by the prince's free gift, hath belonged to the Office of the Revels, where our court playes have beene in late daies yearely rehersed, perfected, and corrected before they come to the publike view of the prince and the nobility. Ovid, speaking of the Tragicke Muse, thus writes.

*Venit et ingenti violenta tragedia passu,
Fronte comæ torvâ palla jacebat humi:
Læva manus sceptrum laté regale tenebat,
Lydius apta pedum vincta cothurnus habet.*

Then came the Tragicke Muse with a proud pace,
Measuring her slow strides with majesticke grace:

Her long traine sweepes the earth, and she doth stand
With buskin'd legge, rough brow, and sceptred hand.

Well knew the poet what estimation she was in with Augustus, when he describes her holding in her left hand a scepter. Now to recite some famous actors that lived in the preceding ages. The first comedians were Cincius and Faliscus; the first tragedians were Minutius and Prothonius. Ælius Donatus, in his preface to Terence his *Andria*, saith that in that comedy Lucius Attilius, Latinus Prænестinus, and Lucius Ambivius Turpio were actors: this comedy was dedicated to Cibil, and such were called *Ludi Megalenses*, acted in the yeare that M. Fulvius was Ædilis, Quintus Minutius Valerius, and M. Glabrio were Curules, which were counsellors and chiefe officers in Rome, so called because they customably sate in chayres of ivory. The songs that were sung in this comedy were set by Flaccus, the sonne of Clodius. Terence his *Eunuchus*, or Second Comedy, was acted in the yeare L. Posthumus and L. Cornelius were Ædil. Curules, Marcus Valerius, and Caius Fannius Consuls. The yeare from the building of Rome, 291, in his *Adelphi* one Protinus acted and was highly applauded, in his *Hecyra* Julius Servius. Cicero commends one Rupilius, a rare tragedian. I read of another called Arossus, another called Theocrines, who purchased him a great applause in the playes called Terentini. There were other playes in Rome, called Actia and Pythia, made in honour of Apollo for killing the dragon Python. In those one Æsopus bare the praise, a man generally esteemed, who left behind him much substance, which Clodius, his sonne, after possest.

*Cincius.**Faliscus.**Minutius.**Prothonius.**L. Attilius.**Latinus**Prænестinus.**Lucius**Ambivius**Turpio.**Flaccus.**Protinus.**L. Servius.**Offic. I.**Rupilius.**Arossus.**Theocrines.**Æsopus.*

Quæ gravis Æsopus, quæ doctus Roscius egit.

Labericus. Labericus was an excellent poet and a rare actor, who writ a booke of the gesture and action to be used by the tragedians and comedians in performance of every part in his native humor. Plautus himselfe was so inamored of the actors in his dayes, that hee published many excellent and exquisite comedies yet extant. Aristotle com-
Theodoretes. mends one Theodoretes to be the best tragedian in his time. This in the presence of Alexander personated Achilles, which so delighted the emperour that hee bestowed on him a pension of *quinque mille drachmæ*, five thousand drachmaes, and every thousand drachmaes are twenty nine pounds, three shillings, foure pence sterling.

Roscius, whom the eloquent orator and excellent statesman of Rome, Marcus Cicero, for his elegant pronuntiation and formall gesture called his jewell, had from the common treasury of the Roman Exchequer a daily pention allowed him of so many *sestertii* as in our coine amount to 16 pound and a marke, or thereabouts, which yearely did arise to any noble-mans revenues. So great was the fame of this Roscius, and so good his estimation, that learned Cato made a question whether Cicero could write better then Roscius could speake and act, or Roscius speake and act better then Cicero write? Many times, when they had any important orations to be with an audible and loud voyce delivered to the people, they imployed the tongue and memory of this excellent actor, to whom for his worth the senate granted such large exhibition.

quæ pervincere voces

Evaluere sonum, referunt quem nostra theatra?

Garganum mugire putes nemus, aut mare Thuscum;

Tanto cum strepitu ludi spectantur et artes.

What voyce can be compared with the sound
 Our theaters from their deepe concaves send?
 For their reverberate murmurs seeme to drownd
 The Gorgan wood, when the proud windes contend,

Or when rough stormes the Thuscan billowes raise ;
With such loud joy they ring our arts and playes.

To omit all the doctors, zawnyes, pantaloones, harlakeenes, in which the French, but especially the Italians, have beene excellent, and according to the occasion offered to do some right to our English actors, as Knell, Bentley, Mils, Wilson, Crosse, Lanam, and others, these, since I never saw them, as being before my time, I cannot (as an eye-witnesse of their desert) give them that applause, which no doubt they worthily merit ; yet by the report of many juditiall auditors their performances of many parts have been so absolute, that it were a kinde of sinne to drowne their worths in Lethe, and not commit their (almost forgotten) names to eternity. Here I must needs remember Tarleton, in his time gracious with the queene, his soveraigne, and in the people's generall applause, whom succeeded Wil. Kemp, as wel in the favour of her majesty, as in the opinion and good thoughts of the generall audience. Gabriel, Singer, Pope, Phillips, Sly, all the right I can do them is but this, that, though they be dead, their deserts yet live in the remembrance of many. Among so many dead, let me not forget one yet alive, in his time the most worthy, famous Maister Edward Allen. To omit these, as also such as for their divers imperfections may be thought insufficient for the quality, actors should be men pick'd out personable, according to the parts they present : they should be rather schollers, that, though they cannot speake well, know how to speake, or else to have that volubility that they can speake well, though they understand not what, and so both imperfections may by instructions be helped and amended : but where a good tongue and a good conceit both faile, there can never be good actor. I also could wish, that such as are condemned for their licentiousnesse, might by a generall consent bee quite excluded our society ; for, as we are men that stand in the broad eye of the world, so should our manners, gestures,

and behaviours, savour of such government and modesty, to deserve the good thoughts and reports of all men, and to abide the sharpest censures even of those that are the greatest opposites to the quality. Many amongst us I know to be of substance, of government, of sober lives, and temperate carriages, house-keepers, and contributory to all duties enjoyned them, equally with them that are rank't with the most bountifull; and if amongst so many of sort, there be any few degenerate from the rest in that good demeanor which is both requisite and expected at their hands, let me entreat you not to censure hardly of all for the misdeeds of some, but rather to excuse us, as Ovid doth the generality of women :

*Parcite paucarum diffundere crimen in omnes :
Spectetur meritis quæque puella suis.*

For some offenders, that perhaps are few,
Spare in your thoughts to censure all the crew :
Since every breast containes a sundry spirit,
Let every one be censur'd as they merit.

Others there are of whom, should you aske my opinion, I must refer you to this, *Consule theatrum*. Here I might take fit opportunity to reckon up all our English writers, and compare them with the Greeke, French, Italian, and Latine poets, not only in their pastorall, historicall, elegiacall, and heroicall poems, but in their tragicall and comicall subjects; but it was my chance to happen on the like, learnedly done by an approved good scholler, in a booke called Wits Commonwealth, to which treatise I wholly referre you, returning to our present subject. Julius Cæsar himselfe for his pleasure became an actor, being in shape, state, voyce, judgement, and all other occurrents, exterior and interior, excellent. Amongst many other parts acted by him in person, it is recorded of him that, with generall applause in his own theater, he played *Hercules Furens*; and, amongst many other arguments of his compleatenesse, excellence, and extraordinary care in his

action, it is thus reported of him :—Being in the depth of a passion, one of his servants (as his part then fell out) presenting Lychas, who before had from Dejanira brought him the poysoned shirt, dipt in the blood of the centaure, Nessus, he, in the midst of his torture and fury, finding this Lychas hid in a remote corner (appoynted him to creep into of purpose), although he was, as our tragedians use, but seemingly to kill him by some false imagined wound, yet was Cæsar so extremely carried away with the violence of his practised fury, and by the perfect shape of the madnesse of Hercules, to which he had fashioned all his active spirits, that he slew him dead at his foot, and after swoong him, *terque quaterque* (as the poet says) about his head. It was the manner of their emperours, in those dayes, in their publicke tragedies, to choose out the fittest amongst such as for capital offences were condemned to dye, and imploy them in such parts as were to be kild in the tragedy ; who of themselves would make suit rather so to dye with resolution, and by the hands of such princely actors, then otherwise to suffer a shamefull and most detestable end. And these were tragedies naturally performed ; and such Caius Caligula, Claudius Nero, Vitellius, Domitianus, Commodus, and other emperours of Rome, upon their festivals and holy daies of greatest consecration, used to act. Therefore M. Kid, in his Spanish Tragedy, upon occasion presenting itselfe, thus writes.

Why, Nero thought it no disparagement,
And kings and emperours have tane delight
To make experience of their wits in playes.

These exercises, as traditions, have beene since (though in better manner) continued through all ages, amongst all the noblest nations of the earth. But I have promised to be altogether compendious : presuming that what before is discourst may, for the practise of playes, their Antiquity and Dignity, be altogether sufficient, I omit the shewes and ceremonies,

even in these times, generally used among the Catholikes, in which, by the churchmen and most religious, divers pageants, as of the Nativity, Passion, and Ascention, with other historicall places of the bible, are at divers times and seasons of the yeare usually celebrated—*sed hæc præter me*. In the yeare of the world, 4207, of Christ, 246, Origen writ certaine godly epistles to Philip, then emperour of Rome, who was the first Christian emperour, and in his life I reade that in the fourth yeare of his reigne, which was the 1000 yeare after the building of Rome, he solemnized that yeare as a jubilee with sumptuous pageants and playes. Homer, the most excellent of all poets, composed his Iliads in the shape of a tragedy, his Odisseas like a comedy. Virgil, in the first of his Æneids, in his description of Dido's Carthage,

—————*hic alta theatris*
Fundamenta locant alii, immanesque columnas
Rupibus excidunt, scenis decora alta futuris.

Which proves that in those dayes, immediately after the ruine of Troy, when Carthage had her first foundation, they built theatres with stately columnes of stone, as in his description may appeare. I have sufficiently discourst of the first theaters, and in whose times they were erected, even till the reigne of Julius Cæsar, the first emperour, and how they continued in their glory from him till the reigne of Marcus Aurelius, the 23 emperour, and from him even to these times. Now, to prove they were in as high estimation at Lacedæmon and Athens, two the most famous cities of Greece. Cicero, in his booke, *Cato Major, seu de Senectute: Cum Athenis ludis quidam grandis natu in theatrum venisset*, &c. An ancient citizen comming into one of the Athenian theatres to see the pastimes there solemnized (which shewes that the most antient and grave frequented them), by reason of the throng, no man gave him place or reverence; but the same citizen, being imploy'd in an embassy to Lacedæmon, and coming like a private

man into the theater, the generall multitude arose at once, and with great ceremonious reverence gave his age place. This Cicero alledges to prove the reverence due to age, and this I may fitly introduce to the approbation of my present subject. Moreover, this great statesman of Rome, at whose exile twenty thousand of the chiefest Roman citizens wore mourning apparel, oftentimes commends Plautus, calling him *Plautus noster*, and *Atticorum antiqua comedia*, where he proceeds further to extoll Æsopus for personating Ajax, and the famous actor, Rupilius, in *Epigonus*, *Medea*, *Menalip*, *Clytemnestra*, and *Antiope*, proceeding in the same place with this worthy and grave sentence, *Ergo histrio hoc videbit in scená, quod non videbit sapiens in vitá?*—Shall a tragedian see that in his scene, which a wise man cannot see in the course of his life? So, in another of his workes, amongst many instructions to his sonne Marcus, he applauds Turpio Ambivius for his action, Statius, Nævius, and Plautus, for their writing. Ovid in *Augustum* :

*Luminibusque tuis totus quibus utitur orbis,
Scenica vidisti lusus adulteria.*

Those eyes, with which you all the world survey,
See in your theaters our actors play.

Augustus Cæsar, because he would have some memory of his love to those places of pastime, reared in Rome two stately *obelisci*, or pyramides, one in Julius Cæsar's temple in the field of Mars, another in the great theater, called *Circus Maximus*, built by Flaminius : these were in height an hundred cubits a peece, in bredth foure cubits : they were first raised by king Pheron in the temple of the Sunne, and after removed to Rome by Augustus. The occasion of their first composure was this : Pheron, for some great crime committed by him in his youth against the Gods, was by them strooke blinde, and so continued the space of ten yeares ; but, after a

revelation in the citty Bucis, it was told that if he washt his eyes in the water of a woman that was chaste, and never adulterately touch't with any save her husband, he should againe recover his sight. The king first tride his wife, then many other of the most grave and best reputed matrons, but continued still in despaire, till at length hee met with one vertuous lady, by whose chastity his sight was restored, whom (having first commanded his queene and the rest to be consumed with fire) he after married. Pheron, in memory of this, builded his two pyramides, after removed to Rome by Augustus.

*Sanctaque majestas, et erat venerabile nomen
Vatibus——*

THE END OF THE SECOND BOOKE.

OF ACTORS, AND

the true use of their quality.

THE THIRD BOOKE.

TRAGEDIES and comedies, saith Donatus, had their beginning *a rebus divinis*, from divine sacrifices. They differ thus : in comedies *turbulenta prima, tranquilla ultima*; in tragedies, *tranquilla prima, turbulenta ultima* : comedies begin in trouble and end in peace ; tragedies begin in calmes, and end in tempest. Of comedies there be three kindes—moving comedies, called *motariæ* ; standing comedies, called *stataria*, or mixt betwixt both, called *mistæ* : they are distributed into foure parts, the *prologue*, that is, the preface ; the *protasis*, that is the proposition, which includes the first act, and presents the actors ; the *epitasis*, which is the businesse and body of the comedy ; the last, the *catastrophe*, and conclusion. The definition of the comedy, according to the Latins : a discourse, consisting of divers institutions, comprehending civill and domesticke things, in which is taught what in our lives and manners is to be followed, what to bee avoyded. The Greekes define it thus : Κωμῳδία ἔστιν ἰδιωτικῶν καὶ πολιτικῶν πραγμάτων ἀχινδονος ποροίχην. Cicero saith a comedy is the imitation of life, the glasse of custome, and the image of truth. In Athens they had their first originall. The ancient comedians used to attire their actors thus : the old men in white, as the most ancient of all, the yong men in party-coloured garments, to note their diversity of thoughts, their slaves and servants in thin and bare vesture, either to note their poverty, or that they might run

the more lighter about their affaires : their parasites wore robes that were turned in, and intricately wrapped about them ; the fortunate in white, the discontented in decayed vesture, or garments growne out of fashion ; the rich in purple, the poore in crimson ; souldiers wore purple jackets, hand-maids the habits of strange virgins, bawds pide coates, and curtezans garments of the colour of mud, to denote their covetousnesse : the stages were hung with rich arras, which was first brought from King Attalus into Rome ; his state hangings were so costly, that from him all tapestries and rich arras were called *Attalia*. This being a thing antient, as I have proved it, next of dignity. As many arguments have confirmed it, and now even in these dayes by the best, without exception, favourably tollerated, why should I yeeld my censure, grounded on such firm and establisht sufficiency, to any tower founded on sand, any castle built in the aire, or any triviall upstart, and meere imaginary opinion ?

Oderunt hilarem tristes, tristemque jocos.

I hope there is no man of so unsensible a spirit, that can inveigh against the true and direct use of this quality. Oh, but say they, the Romanes in their time, and some in these dayes, have abused it, and therefore we volly out our exclamations against the use. Oh shallow ! because such a man hath his house burnt, we shall quite condemne the use of fire ; because one man quafft poyson, we must forbear to drinke ; because some have bean shipwrak't, no man shall hereafter trafficke by sea. Then I may as well argue thus : he cut his finger, therefore must I weare no knife ; yond man fell from his horse, therefore must I travell a foot ; that man surfeited, therefore I dare not eate. What can appeare more absurd then such a grosse and sencelesse assertion ? I could turne this unpoynted weapon against his breast that aimes it at mine, and reason thus : Roscius had a large pension allowed him by the senate of Rome, why should not an actor of the like desert have the

like allowance now? or this, the most famous city and nation in the world held playes in great admiration; *ergo*—but it is a rule in logicke, *ex particularibus nihil fit*. These are not the basses we must build upon, nor the columnes that must support our architecture.

*Et latro, et cautus precingitur ense viator :
Ille sed insidias, hic sibi portat opem.*

Both theeves and true-men weapons weare alike :
Th' one to defend, the other comes to strike.

Let us use fire to warme us, not to scortch us ; to make ready our necessities, not to burne our houses : let us drinke to quench our thirst, not to surfet ; and eate to satisfie nature, not to gormondize.

*Comædia rectâ si mente legatur,
Constabit nulli posse nocere.*

Playes are in use as they are understood,
Spectators eyes may make them bad or good.

Shall we condemne a generallity for any one particular misconstruction? give me then leave to argue thus. Amongst kings have there not beene some tyrants? yet the office of a king is the image of the majesty of God. Amongst true subjects have there not crept in some false traitors? even amongst the twelve there was Judas, but shall we for his fault censure worse of the eleven? God forbid! art thou prince or peasant? art thou of the nobility or commonalty? Art thou merchant or souldier? of the citty or country? Art thou preacher or auditor? Art thou tutor or pupill? There have beene of thy function bad and good, prophane and holy. I induce these instances to confirme this common argument, that the use of any generall thing is not for any one particular abuse to be condemned; for if that assertion stooode firme, wee should run into many notable inconveniences.

*Qui locus est templis angustior hanc quoque vitet,
In culpam si qua est ingeniosa suam.*

To proceed to the matter. First, playing is an ornament to the citty, which strangers of all nations repairing hither report of in their countries, beholding them here with some admiration; for what variety of entertainment can there be in any citty of christendome more then in London? But some will say, this dish might be very well spared out of the banquet: to him I answere, Diogenes, that used to feede on rootes, cannot relish a march-pane. Secondly, our English tongue, which hath ben the most harsh, uneven, and broken language of the world, part Dutch, part Irish, Saxon, Scotch, Welsh, and indeed a gallimafray of many, but perfect in none, is now by this secondary meanes of playing continually refined, every writer striving in himselfe to adde a new flourish unto it; so that in processe, from the most rude and unpolisht tongue, it is growne to a most perfect and composed language, and many excellent workes and elaborate poems writ in the same, that many nations grow inamored of our tongue (before despised.) Neither Saphicke, Ionicke, Iambicke, Phaleuticke, Adonicke, Gliconicke, Hexamiter, Tetramitrer, Pentamiter, Asclepediacke, Choriambicke, nor any other measured verse used among the Greekes, Latins, Italians, French, Dutch, or Spanish writers, but may be exprest in English, be it blanke verse or meeter, in distichon, or hexastichon, or in what forme or feet, or what number you can desire. Thus you see to what excellency our refined English is brought, that in these daies we are ashamed of that euphony and eloquence, which within these 60 yeares the best tongues in the land were proud to pronounce. Thirdly, playes have made the ignorant more apprehensive, taught the unlearned the knowledge of many famous histories, instructed such as cannot reade in the discovery of all our English chronicles; and what man have you now of that weake capacity that cannot discourse of any notable thing

recorded even from William the Conquerour, nay, from the landing of Brute, untill this day? beeing possest of their true use, for or because playes are writ with this ayme, and carryed with this methode, to teach their subjects obedience to their king, to shew the people the untimely ends of such as have moved tumults, commotions, and insurrections, to present them with the flourishing estate of such as live in Use of tragedies. obedience, exhorting them to allegiance, dehorting them from all trayterous and felonious stratagems.

Omne genus scripti gravitate tragedia vincit.

If we present a tragedy, we include the fatall and abortive ends of such as commit notorious murders, which Use of historical plays. is aggravated and acted with all the art that may be to terrifie men from the like abhorred practises. If wee present a forreigne history, the subject is so intended, that in the lives of Romans, Grecians, or others, either the vertues of our countrymen are extolled, or their vices reprov'd; as thus, by the example of Cæsar to stir souldiers to valour and magnanimity; by the fall of Pompey that no man trust in his owne strength: we present Alexander killing his friend in his rage, to reprove rashnesse; Mydas, choked with his gold, to taxe covetousnesse; Nero against tyranny; Sardanapalus against luxury; Ninus against ambition, with infinite others, by sundry instances either animating men to noble attempts, or attacking the consciences of the spectators, finding themselves toucht in presenting the vices of others. Use of Morals. If a morall, it is to perswade men to humanity and good life, to instruct them in civility and good manners, shewing them the fruits of honesty, and Use of Comedies. the end of villany.

Versibus exponi tragicis res comica non vult.

Againe Horace, *Arte Poeticâ,*

*At vestri proavi Plautinos et numeros et
Laudavere sales.*

If a comedy, it is pleasantly contrived with merry accidents, and intermixt with apt and witty jests, to present before the prince at certain times of solemnity, or else merily fitted to the stage. And what is then the subject of this harmlesse mirth? either in the shape of a clowne to shew others their slovenly and unhandsome behaviour, that they may reforme that simplicity in themselves which others make their sport, lest they happen to become the like subject of generall scorne to an auditory; else it intreates of love, deriding foolish inamorates, who spend their ages, their spirits, nay themselves, in the servile and ridiculous imployments of their mistresses: and these are mingled with sportfull accidents, to recreate such as of themselves are wholly devoted to melancholly, which corrupts the bloud, or to refresh such weary spirits as are tired with labour or study, to moderate the cares and heavinesse of the minde, that they may returne to their trades and faculties with more zeale and earnestnesse, after some small, soft, and pleasant retirement. Sometimes they discourse of pantaloones, usurers that have unthrifty sonnes, which both the fathers and sonnes may behold to their instructions: sometimes of curtezans, to divulge their subtelties and snares in which young men may be intangled, shewing them the meanes to avoyd them. If we present a pastorall, we shew the harmlesse love of shepheards diversely moralized, distinguishing betwixt the craft of the citty, and the innocency of the sheep-coat. Briefly, there is neither tragedy, history, comedy, morrall, or pastorall, from which an infinite use cannot be gathered. I speake not in the defence of any lascivious shewes, scurrelous jeasts, or scandalous invectives. If there be any such I banish them quite from my patronage; yet Horace, Sermon I., satyr iv., thus writes:—

Use of Pastors.

*Eupolis atque Cratinus Aristophanesque poetæ,
Atque alii quorum comædia prisca virorum est,
Si quis erat dignus describi, quòd malus, aut fur,*

*Quòd mæchus foret, aut sicarius, aut alioqui
Famosus, multá cum libertate notabant.*

Eupolis, Cratinus, Aristophanes, and other comike poets in the time of Horace, with large scope and unbridled liberty, boldly and plainly scourged all abuses, as in their ages were generally practised, to the staining and blemishing of a faire and beautifull common-weale. Likewise a learned gentleman in his Apology for Poetry speakes thus : Tragedies well handled be a most worthy kind of poesie. Comedies make men see and shame at their faults : and, proceeding further, amongst other University-playes he remembers the Tragedy of Richard the third, acted in St. Johns, in Cambridge, so essentially, that had the tyrant Phalaris beheld his bloudy proceedings, it had mollified his heart, and made him relent at sight of his inhuman massacres. Further, he commends of comedies, the Cambridge *Pedantius*, and the Oxford *Bellum Grammaticale* ; and, leaving them, passes on to our publicke playes, speaking liberally in their praise, and what commendable use may be gathered of them. If you peruse *Margarita Poetica*, you may see what excellent uses and sentences he hath gathered out of *Terence* his *Andrea*, *Eunuchus*, and the rest : likewise out of *Plautus*, his *Amphytryo*, *Asinaria* ; and, moreover, *ex Comediis Philodoxis, Caroli Acretini : De falsá Hypocritá, et tristi Mercurio, Ronsii Versellensis : ex Comædiâ Philanirâ, Ugolini Parmensis*, all reverend schollers, and comicke poets. Reade elce the 4 tragedies, *Philunica, Petrus, Aman, Katherina, Claudii Roiletti Belvensis*. But I should tire my selfe to reckon the names of all French, Roman, German, Spanish, Italian, and English poets, being in number infinite, and their labours extant to approve their worthinesse.

Is thy minde noble, and wouldst thou be further stir'd up to magnanimity ? Behold upon the stage thou maist see Hercules, Achilles, Alexander, Cæsar, Alcibiades, Lysander,

Sertorius, Hannibal, Antigonus, Philip of Macedon, Mithridates of Pontus, Pyrrhus of Epirus: Agesilaus among the Lacedemonians; Epaminondas amongst the Thebans: Scævola alone entering the armed tents of Porsenna: Horatius Cocles alone withstanding the whole army of the Heturians: Leonidas of Sparta choosing a lyon to leade a band of deere, rather then one deere to conduct an army of lyons, with infinite others, in their own persones, qualities, and shapes, animating thee with courage, deterring thee from cowardise. Hast thou of thy country well deserved? and art thou of thy labour evil requited? To associate thee thou mayst see the valiant Roman Marcellus pursue Hannibal at Nola, conquering Syracuse, vanquishing the Gauls at Padua, and presently (for his reward) banisht his country into Greece. There thou mayest see Scipio Africanus, now triumphing for the conquest of all Africa, and immediately exil'd the confines of Romania. Art thou inclined to lust? behold the falles of the Tarquins in the rape of Lucrece; the guerdon of luxury in the death of Sardanapalus; Appius destroyed in the ravishing of Virginia, and the destruction of Troy in the lust of Helena. Art thou proud? our scene presents thee with the fall of Phaeton; Narcissus pining in the love of his shadow; ambitious Hamon, now calling himselfe a God, and by and by thrust headlong among the divels. We present men with the ugliness of their vices to make them the more to abhorre them; as the Persians use, who, above all sinnes loathing drunkennesse, accustomed in their solemne feasts to make their servants and captives extremely overcome with wine, and then call their children to view their nasty and lothsome behaviour, making them hate that sinne in themselves, which shewed so grosse and abominable in others. The like use may be gathered of the drunkards, so naturally imitated in our playes, to the applause of the actor, content of the auditory, and reproving of the vice. Art thou covetous? go no further then Plautus, his comedy called *Euclio*.

*Dum fallax servus, durus pater, improba lena
Vixerit, et meretrix blanda, Menandros erit.*

While ther's false servant, or obdurate sire,
Sly baud, smooth whore, Menandros wee'l admire.

To end in a word, art thou addicted to prodigality, envy, cruelty, perjury, flattery, or rage? our scenes affoord thee store of men to shape your lives by, who be frugall, loving, gentle, trusty, without soothing, and in all things temperate. Wouldst thou be honourable, just, friendly, moderate, devout, mercifull, and loving concord? thou mayest see many of their fates and ruines who have beene dishonourable, unjust, false, gluttonous, sacrilegious, bloudy-minded, and brochers of dissention. Women, likewise, that are chaste are by us extolled and encouraged in their vertues, being instanced by Diana, Belphebe, Matilda, Lucrece, and the Countess of Salisbury. The unchaste are by us shewed their errors in the persons of Phryne, Lais, Thais, Flora; and amongst us Rosamond and Mistresse Shore. What can sooner print modesty in the soules of the wanton, then by discovering unto them the monstrousnesse of their sin? It followes, that we prove these exercises to have beene the discoverers of many notorious murders, long concealed from the eyes of the world. To omit all farre-fetched instances, we will prove it by a domestike and home-borne truth, which within these few years happened. At Lin, in Norfolke, the then Earl of Sussex players acting the old History of Feyer Francis, and presenting a woman who, insatiately doting on a yong gentleman, (the more securely to enjoy his affection) mischievously and secreetly murdered her husband, whose ghost haunted her; and, at divers times, in her most solitary and private contemplations, in most horrid and feareful shapes, appeared and stood before her. As this was acted, a towne's-woman (till then of good estimation and report) finding her conscience (at this presentment) extremely troubled, suddenly

A strange
accident hap-
pening at a
play.

skritch'd and cryd out, Oh ! my husband, my husband ! I see the ghost of my husband fiercely threatning and menacing me ! At which shrill and unexpected outcry, the people about her, moov'd to a strange amazement, inquired the reason of her clamour, when presently, un-urged, she told them that seven yeares ago she, to be possest of such a gentleman (meaning him), had poysoned her husband, whose fearefull image personated it selfe in the shape of that ghost. Whereupon the murdresse was apprehended, before the justices further examined, and by her voluntary confession after condemned. That this is true, as well by the report of the actors as the records of the towne, there are many eyewitnesses of this accident yet living vocally to confirme it.

A strange
accident hap-
pening at a
play.

As strange an accident happened to a company of the same quality some 12 yeares ago, or not so much ; who, playing late in the night, at a place called Perin in Cornwall, certaine Spaniards were landed the same night, unsuspected and undiscovered, with intent to take in the towne, spoyle, and burne it, when suddenly, even upon their entrance, the players (ignorant as the towne's-men of any such attempt) presenting a battle on the stage, with their drum and trumpets strooke up a lowde alarme : which the enemy hearing, and fearing they were discovered, amazedly retired, made some few idle shot, in a bravado, and so, in a hurly-burly, fled disorderly to their boats. At the report of this tumult, the towne's-men were immediately armed, and pursued them to the sea, praying God for their happy deliverance from so great a danger, who by his providence made these strangers the instrument and secondary meanes of their escape from such imminent mischife, and the tyranny of so remorceless an enemy.

A strange
accident
happening
at a play.

Another of the like wonder happened at Amsterdam in Holland. A company of our English comedians (well knowne) travelling those countreyes, as they were before the burgers and other

the chiefe inhabitants, acting the last part of the Four Sons of Aymon, towards the last act of the history, where penitent Rinaldo, like a common labourer, lived in disguise, vowing as his last pennance to labour and carry burdens to the structure of a goodly church there to be erected; whose diligence the labourers envying, since by reason of his stature and strength, hee did usually perfect more worke in a day then a dozen of the best (hee working for his conscience, they for their lucre), whereupon, by reason his industry had so much disparaged their living, conspired among themselves to kill him, waiting some opportunity to finde him asleepe, which they might easily doe, since the sorest labourers are the soundest sleepers, and industry is the best preparative to rest. Having spy'd their opportunity, they drave a naile into his temples, of which wound immediatly he dyed. As the actors handled this, the audience might on a sodaine understand an out-cry, and loud shriek in a remote gallery; and pressing about the place, they might perceive a woman of great gravity strangely amazed, who with a distracted and troubled braine oft sighed out these words: "Oh, my husband, my husband!" The play, without further interruption, proceeded: the woman was to her owne house conducted, without any apparant suspition; every one conjecturing as their fancies led them. In this agony she some few dayes languished, and on a time, as certaine of her well disposed neighbours came to comfort her, one amongst the rest being church-warden: to him the sexton posts, to tell him of a strange thing happening to him in the ripping up of a grave: See here (quoth he) what I have found; and shewes them a faire skull, with a great nayle pierst quite through the braine-pan: But we cannot conjecture to whom it should belong, nor how long it hath laine in the earth, the grave being confused, and the flesh consumed. At the report of this accident, the woman, out of the trouble of her afflicted conscience, discovered a former murder; for 12 yeares ago, by driving that nayle into that skull, being the head of her husband, she

had treacherously slaine him. This being publickly confest, she was arraigned, condemned, adjudged, and burned. But I draw my subject to greater length then I purposed: these therefore out of other infinites I have collected, both for their familiarnesse and latenesse of memory.

Thus, our antiquity we have brought from the Grecians in the time of Hercules; from the Macedonians in the age of Alexander; from the Romans long before Julius Cæsar; and since him, through the reigns of 23 emperours succeeding, even to Marcus Aurelius: after him they were supported by the Mantuans, Venetians, Valencians, Neapolitans, the Florentines, and others: since, by the German princes, the Palsgrave, the Landsgrave, the dukes of Saxony, of Brounswicke, &c. The cardinall at Bruxels hath at this time in pay a company of our English comedians. The French king allowes certaine companies in Paris, Orleans, besides other cities: so doth the king of Spaine, in Civill, Madrill, and other provinces. But in no country they are of that eminence that our's are: so our most royall and ever renowned soveraigne hath licenced us in London: so did his predecessor, the thrice vertuous virgin, Queene Elizabeth; and before her, her sister, Queene Mary, Edward the sixth, and their father, Henry the eighth: and before these, in the tenth yeare of the reigne of Edward the fourth, *Anno* 1490. John Stowe, an ancient and grave chronicler, records (amongst other varieties tending to the like effect) that a play was acted at a place called Skinners-well, fast by Clerken-well, which continued eight dayes, and was of matter from Adam and Eve (the first creation of the world). The spectators were no worse then the royalty of England. And amongst other commendable exercises in this place, the Company of the Skinners of London held certaine yearely solemne playes; in place whereof, now in these latter daies, the wrastling, and such other pastimes have been kept, and is still held about Bartholmew-tide. Also in the yeare 1390, the 14 yeare of the reigne of

Richard the second, the 18 of July, were the like enterludes recorded of at the same place, which continued 3 dayes together, the king and queene, and nobility being there present. Moreover, to this day in divers places of England there be townes that hold the priviledge of their faires, and other charters by yearely stage-playes, as at Manningtree in Suffolke, Kendall in the north, and others. To let these passe, as things familiarly knowne to all men. Now, to speake of some abuse lately crept into the quality, as an inveighing against the state, the court, the law, the citty, and their governments, with the particularizing of private men's humors (yet alive), noble-men, and others: I know it distastes many; neither do I any way approve it, nor dare I by any meanes excuse it. The liberty which some arrogate to themselves, committing their bitterness, and liberall invectives against all estates, to the mouthes of children, supposing their juniority to be a priviledge for any rayling, be it never so violent, I could advise all such to curbe and limit this presumed liberty within the bands of discretion and government. But wise and judiciall censurers, before whom such complaints shall at any time hereafter come, wil not (I hope) impute these abuses to any transgression in us, who have ever been carefull and provident to shun the like. I surcease to prosecute this any further, lest my good meaning be (by some) misconstrued;

and fearing likewise, lest with tediousnesse I tire the

patience of the favourable Reader, heere

(though abruptly) I conclude

my third and last

TREATISE.

Stultitiam patiuntur opes, mihi parvula res est.

To my approved good Friend,

MR. NICHOLAS OKES.

THE infinite faults escaped in my booke of Britaines Troy by the negligence of the printer, as the misquotations, mistaking of sillables, misplacing halfe lines, coining of strange and never heard of words, these being without number, when I would have taken a particular account of the *errata*, the printer answered me, hee would not publish his owne disworkemanship, but rather let his owne fault lye upon the necke of the author. And being fearefull that others of his quality had beene of the same nature and condition, and finding you, on the contrary, so carefull and industrious, so serious and laborious to doe the author all the rights of the presse, I could not choose but gratulate your honest indeavours with this short remembrance. Here, likewise, I must necessarily insert a manifest injury done me in that worke, by taking the two epistles of Paris to Helen, and Helen to Paris, and printing them in a lesse volume under the name of another, which may put the world in opinion I might steale them from him, and hee, to doe himselfe right, hath since published them in his owne name: but, as I must acknowledge my lines not worthy his patronage under whom he hath publisht them, so the author, I know, much offended with M. Jaggard (that altogether unknowne to him), presumed to make so bold with his name. These and the like dishonesties I knowe you to bee cleere of; and I could wish but to bee the happy author of so worthy a worke as I could willingly commit to your care and workmanship.

Yours, ever,

THOMAS HEYWOOD.

NOTES.

Page 4, line 9. I need alledge no more then the royall and princely services in which we now live.] Alluding to the fact that, on the accession of James I., the king took into his service the Lord Chamberlain's players, the queen those of the Earl of Worcester, and Prince Henry those of the Earl of Nottingham. *Vide* "Memoirs of Edward Alleyn," p. 61, *Note*.

Page 4, line 22. Learned Doctor Gager, Doctor Gentiles, and others.] Drs. Gager and Gentiles were the adversaries of Dr. Rainoldes in the "controversy" which ended in the publication of "The Overthrow of Stage Playes," by the latter, in 1599 or 1600.

Page 4, line 31. True gatherers.] The "gatherers" were what we now call the money-takers at the doors of theatres. Actors at this time were generally "sharers" of the profits, and faithful receivers of money paid on admission were therefore important. See the term more fully explained in "Hist. Engl. Dram. Poetry and the Stage," III. 403.

Page 8, line 21. Ar. Hopton.] The author of these laudatory stanzas died two years after they were printed. He was a young man of extraordinary attainments and promise. *Vide* Wood's *Ath. Oxon*, II. 151. Edit. Bliss.

Page 9, line 20. John Webster.] All that was then known about this highly-gifted dramatic author was collected and published by the Rev. A. Dyce, in his edition of Webster's Works, 4 vols. post 8vo., 1830. Henslowe's Diary supplies information of much interest respecting some lost productions by Webster.

Page 10, line 27. Rich. Perkins.] The name of this actor, who did not attain his highest eminence until some years after 1612, occurs in Henslowe's Diary. For him Marlowe's "Rich Jew of Malta" was revived by Heywood, and printed in 1633.

Page 11, line 13. Christopher Beeston.] This actor's name also occurs late in Henslowe's Diary. He afterwards became a player at the Cockpit theatre in Drury Lane, for which Heywood wrote; and in 1636 he was the master of a company of juvenile performers.

Page 11, line 22. Robert Pallant.] This actor subsequently joined the King's Company, and arrived at some eminence.

Page 12, line 34. John Taylor.] This person is not to be confounded with Joseph Taylor, the actor, who has been mistakenly supposed to have been the original Hamlet, a part which was first sustained by Richard Burbage. John Taylor was known as "the Water-poet," because he commenced life as apprentice to a waterman, and for some years followed the occupation. He was an extremely voluminous author, and his collected works were printed in 1630, folio.

Page 15, line 18. It hath pleased the high and mighty Princes of this land to limit the use of certain publicke theaters.] This passage appears to refer to the orders of the Privy Council to limit the number of theatres in use at the end of the reign of Elizabeth. *Vide* "Hist. of Engl. Dram. Poetry and the Stage," I. 311, &c.

Page 15, line 26. To stop the envious acclamations of those who challenge to themselves a priveledge invective, &c.] This passage, and some others of the same kind, refer generally to such works as the "Invective" of Stephen Gosson, under the title of "the School of Abuse," "the Anatomy of Abuses," by Philip Stubbes, &c.

Page 16, line 27. I might behold the colour of her fresh roabe, all crimson breathed, &c.] This expression is further explained by a line in the blank-verse speech, which Heywood subsequently puts into the mouth of Melpomene:

"Such with their breath have blasted my fresh roabe."

Page 23, line 11. If such rich wages thou wilt give to me.] These concluding lines had already been used by Gosson in his "School of Abuse." *Vide* p. 19 of our reprint.

Page 29, line 15. It instructs him to fit his phrases to his action, and his action to his phrase.] So Hamlet, Act III., Scene 2—"Suit the action to the word, the word to the action."

Page 40, line 10. The king of Denmarke, father to him that now reigneth, entertained into his service a company of English comedians.] See also p. 58, where it is said that an English company was performing in Amsterdam. No date is given, but circumstances shew that it must have been subsequent to 1602.

Page 43, line 6. Knell, Bentley, Mils, Wilson, Crosse, Lanam, and others, these, since I never saw them, as being before my time, &c.] We may conclude from this passage that these celebrated actors were dead before 1596, which, as has been shown in the Introduction, was, in all probability, the date of Heywood's earliest connection with the stage.

Page 43, line 13. Here I must needs remember Tarleton, in his time gracious with the queene.] Richard Tarlton died in September, 1588. Many materials for a separate life of this extraordinary actor might be collected: he has furnished some of them himself, and he is mentioned by many writers of his own time and afterwards.

Page 43, line 16. Whom succeeded Wil. Kemp.] Thomas Nash, about 1589, the year after Tarlton's death, calls Kemp "Jest-monger and Vicegerent general to the Ghost of Dicke Tarlton." There are several entries in Henslowe's Diary, shewing that Kemp belonged to the company acting under Alleyn's management in 1602, although he had been one of the Lord Chamberlain's players, in 1596. He probably commenced as an actor with Alleyn about 1586 or 1587, then joined the association to which Shakespeare was attached, and finally returned to his old quarters.

Page 43, line 18. Gabriel.] i. e., Gabriel Spencer, who was killed by Ben Jonson—*Vide* "Memoirs of Edward Alleyn," page 51. He seems to have been generally known by his christian name; and so he is spoken of by Henslowe, in his letter of 26th September, 1598. This opportunity may be taken to correct an error in the "Memoirs of Edward Alleyn," where it is said that two persons of the christian name of Gabriel belonged to Henslowe's company in 1598; viz., Gabriel Spencer and Gabriel Singer. The name of the latter was John Singer, and no Gabriel Singer occurs in Henslowe's Diary. The mistake originated, probably, in Collier's "Hist. of Engl. Dram. Poetry and the Stage," I. 351., where "Gabriel" is misprinted for *John*.

Page 43, line 26. They should be rather schollers.] We ought, perhaps, to read *either* for "rather."

Page 44, line 26. A booke called Wit's Commonwealth.] The celebrated work, by Francis Meres, printed in 1598, 12mo., which contains, on Sig. O o 2, the often-quoted enumeration of twelve of Shakespeare's dramas, including "Love's Labours Won," and "Titus Andronicus."

Page 45, line 24. Therefore M. Kid, in his Spanish Tragedy, upon occasion presenting itselfe, thus writes.] The lines here quoted by Heywood occur in Act V. of the "Spanish Tragedy." It is upon Heywood's authority that the play has been attributed to Thomas Kyd.

Page 49, line 20. ἀχὺν δόvous ποροίχην.] So it stands in the original; and it is, perhaps, impossible now to set the corruption right, as Heywood does not quote his authority.

Page 55, line 7. Likewise a learned gentleman in his Apology for Poetry.] Heywood here quotes from Sir John Harington's "Apologie of Poetrie," prefixed to his translation of Ariosto's *Orlando Furioso* in 1591.

Page 58, line 6. Meaning him.] "Meaning" is misprinted in the original for *naming*. Cartwright did not detect and correct the error in his impression. In the same way, in line 17, he allowed "Perin, in Cornwall," to stand, instead of *Penrin*, or *Penryn*.

Page 61, line 8. Now to speake of some abuse lately crept into the quality, as inveighing against the state, &c.] The following passage from the epistle before H. Parrot's "More the Merrier," 4to., 1608, will not be out of place:—"As for satyrick inveighing at any man's private person (a kind of writing which, of late, seemes to have been very familiar among our poets and players, to their cost), my reader is to seeke it elsewhere." See also, upon this point, a very curious account in Von Raumer's "History of the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries," (II. 219) of the interference of the French Ambassador in April, 1606, to punish the actors and put a stop to the performance of Chapman's play, on the Life of the Duke of Biron, in consequence of the introduction of the Queen of France into it, giving a box on the ear to Mademoiselle de Verneuil. From the same work it appears that James I. had been represented on the stage two days before.

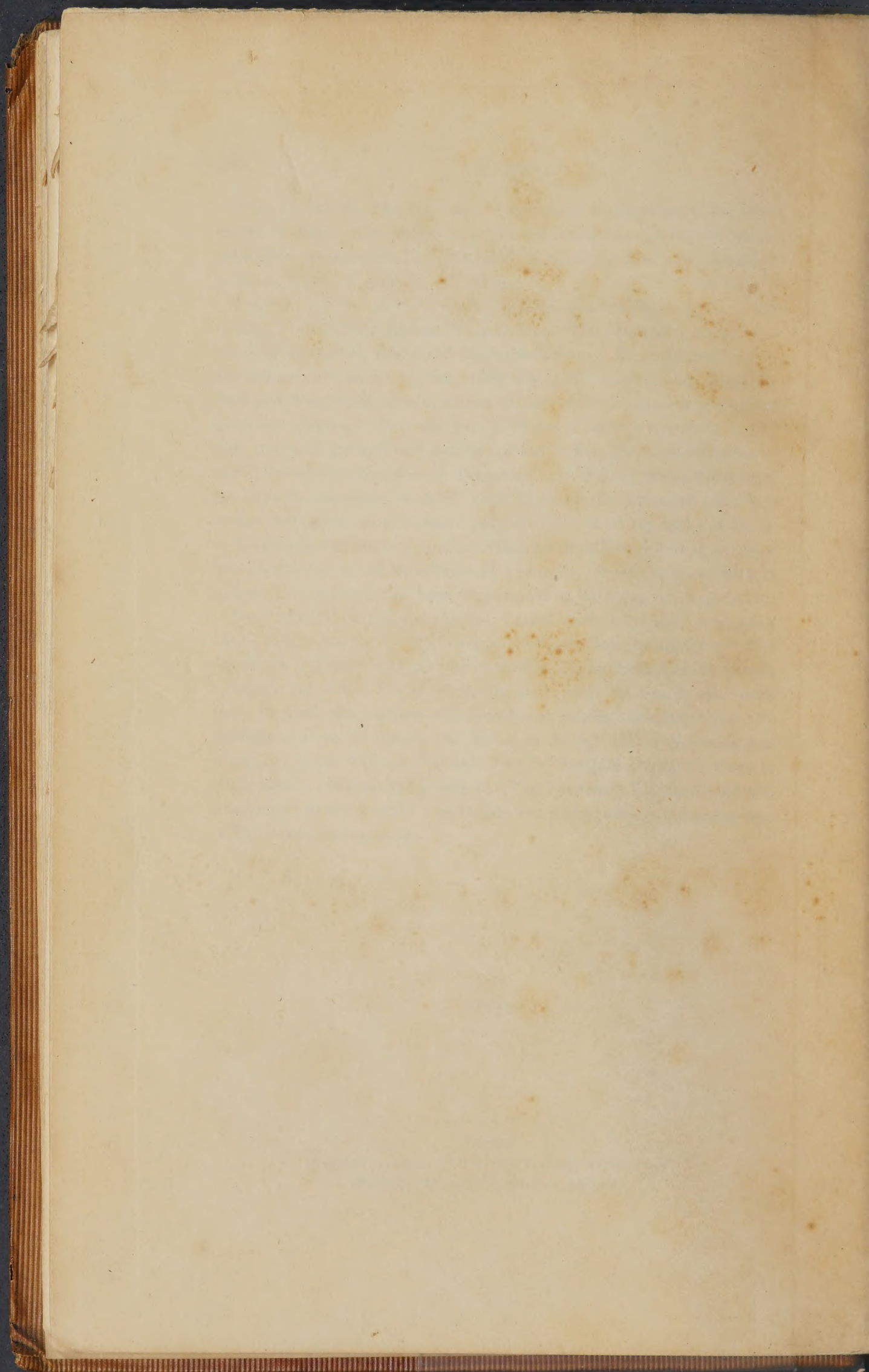
Page 62, line 15. Here, likewise, I must necessarily insert a manifest injury done to me, &c.] This passage establishes that the edition of "The Passionate Pilgrim," with the date of 1612, was published before Heywood's "Apology for Actors" came out in the same year. It was in that work that Jaggard, the careless and fraudulent printer, inserted "the two Epistles of Paris to Helen, and Helen to Paris," which Heywood had translated in his "Great Britain's Troy." Jaggard attributed them to Shakespeare. Malone had a copy of "The Passionate Pilgrim," with two title-pages; in one of which a correction was made, perhaps, in consequence of Heywood's remonstrance.

FINIS.

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